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U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE UN

REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1961

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REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1961

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LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL

The President to the Congress

To the Congress of the United States:

Pursuant to the provisions of the United Nations Participation Act, I transmit herewith the sixteenth annual report covering United States participation in the United Nations in 1961.

In the course of that year the United Nations faced and surmounted several crises; dealt with a heavy parliamentary agenda; administered expanding programs in the economic and social field; and took several steps of potentially great significance for the future peace and prosperity of the world.

A detailed record of these events and accomplishments is set forth in the body of this report, but in transmitting it to the Congress I should like to call attention to three matters of compelling importance which the United Nations faced in 1961.

First was the administrative crisis at United Nations Headquarters. This arose when the Soviet Union sought to replace an impartial Secretariat with a three-headed directorate—representing the Communist bloc and the so-called capitalist and neutralist groups of nations—each with a veto. This attempt to destroy the executive capacity of the United Nations, following the untimely death of the late Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold, was rejected decisively. In the unanimous election of U Thant to fill Mr. Hammarskjold's unexpired term, the full integrity of the office of the Secretary-General was preserved.

Second was the operational crisis for the United Nations peace-keeping force in the Congo. By the end of the year the secession of Orientale Province had been brought to an end, fighting in Katanga was replaced by a cease-fire, and the dissidents in Katanga had agreed to negotiate for reintegration of that Province with the rest of the Congo.

Third was the financial crisis. This was brought on mainly by the refusal or inability of some members to pay their share of the cost of peace-keeping operations in the Congo and the Middle East. In the course of the year the General Assembly adopted a three-point plan

to meet immediate peace-keeping costs, collect arrearages, and provide adequate funds until a more permanent method can be devised for financing future peace-keeping operations.

Despite the dangers and strains of these crises, the United Nations in 1961 took three steps which I believe will be of great future significance to the world's security and well-being.

1. The United Nations created the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee agreed upon by the United States and the Soviet Union as a forum for renewed disarmament negotiations which began this spring in Geneva. In presenting to the General Assembly the United States proposals for general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world, the United States delegation made clear that steps toward disarmament must be matched, at each stage, by steps toward improving the peace-keeping machinery of the United Nations. It is this essential linkage which will make disarmament a practical proposition whenever nations can agree on the necessary goals and safeguards. Every improvement in the machinery of peace will make it easier for us, with confidence, ultimately to begin dismantling the machinery of war. Whatever obstacles and disappointments may lie ahead, the world must some day travel the road to disarmament. For in the nuclear age, armaments no longer offer fundamental security to any nation.

2. The United Nations also laid the groundwork in 1961 for a U.N. Decade of Development to help speed progress toward the economic and social goals of the newly emerging nations. The launching of a World Food Program and the decision to hold an international conference on the application of science and technology to the less developed world are only initial steps. The United States intends to propose further measures to focus the resources of the United Nations on this 10-year drive against economic want and social injustice.

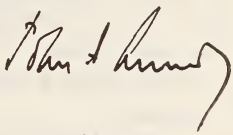
3. Finally, the United Nations, in 1961, turned in earnest to the critical search for international cooperation in the exploration of outer space. Within the framework of the newly created U.N. Committee on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, discussions were under way at the end of the year looking toward international cooperation in outer space, including cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union in the development of communications and weather programs.

These were major constructive moves of the United Nations in 1961: to work toward the replacement of the machinery of war with the institutions of peace; to help guide the newly developing nations toward modernization; and to seek international cooperation in the exploration of outer space for the benefit of all. The United States played a major role in initiating these progressive steps in the United

Nations. They served the foreign policy interest of this country. And they were wholly compatible with the mutually reinforcing policies which we have pursued through the institutions of the North Atlantic Community, through regional organizations, and through diplomatic channels.

Meanwhile, the United Nations continued to play vigorously two indispensable continuing roles. It kept the peace in the Middle East and the Congo. And it continued to be absorbed in the often difficult transfer of dependent areas to nationhood.

Finally, it cannot be said too often that the Charter of the United Nations expresses well the basic precepts and standards of conduct that guide our own society. These precepts and standards are not destroyed because this nation or that, consistently or occasionally, violates them. The indestructible principles of the Charter exert a gravitational pull which adds strength to every aspect of our world-wide diplomacy. The United Nations, under that Charter, provides a framework within which we can pursue the highest goal of American foreign policy: a world community of independent nations living together in free association and at peace with each other.



THE WHITE HOUSE,
August 2, 1962

The Secretary of State to the President

Department of State
Washington, July 27, 1962

The President:

Under the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Congress) the President transmits annually to the Congress a report on United States participation in the United Nations. A report on the activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies for the year 1961 has therefore been prepared.

The report is a comprehensive survey of the Government's participation in the work of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies. It covers United States relations with the United Nations system as they have developed during the first calendar year of your Administration.

I recommend that you approve the report for transmittal to the Congress.

Faithfully yours,

Dean Rusk

The President,
The White House.

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PART I

Maintenance of Peace and Security

GENEVA CONFERENCE ON THE DISCONTINUANCE OF NUCLEAR WEAPON TESTS

The Geneva Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests, which had held its first meeting on October 31, 1958, was in recess when President Kennedy assumed office. One of the President's first official acts was to request a delay in resuming negotiations in order to permit a thorough review of the outstanding issues before the Conference. The Soviet Union and the United Kingdom agreed to this proposal, and the Conference did not resume its work until March 21, 1961. It remained in session until September 9, when it recessed to await the result of the General Assembly debate on the nuclear test question. After the conclusion of the debate, the Soviet Union accepted an Anglo-American proposal to resume negotiations. The Conference reconvened on November 28 and continued to meet until December 21, when it recessed for the holidays.

The American delegation was headed by Ambassador Arthur H. Dean. Minister Charles C. Stelle served as his deputy and spoke for the United States during his absence. During the March 21–September 9 period the British delegation was led by the Rt. Hon. David Ormsby-Gore, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. He was replaced by J. B. Godber, Minister of State, when negotiations were resumed on November 28. Sir Michael Wright continued to serve as deputy leader of the British delegation. The Soviet Union was represented throughout by Ambassador Semyon K. Tsarapkin.

De Facto Moratorium on Nuclear Tests

Neither the United States nor the United Kingdom had conducted any nuclear tests since the Conference opened in 1958. In that year they announced that they would refrain from testing for 12 months after the beginning of negotiations. The United States later extended its suspension until the end of 1959, and the United Kingdom stated

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that it would not test as long as there was any prospect for success at Geneva. At the end of 1959 President Eisenhower stated that the United States considered itself free from its self-imposed ban but would not resume testing without advance notice. The United States did not, however, conduct any further tests.

As far as was known, the Soviet Union had not carried out any nuclear tests since November 3, 1958. The Soviet Government declared on August 28, 1959, that it had taken the following decision:

> . . . Not to resume nuclear tests in the Soviet Union if the Western Powers do not resume the testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons. Only in case of resumption by them of nuclear weapons tests will the Soviet Union be free from this pledge. The Soviet Union will continue the struggle for the complete cessation of nuclear weapons tests, regarding this as an important step toward stopping the nuclear arms race and averting the threat to the life and health of millions of people.

At the first part of the 15th General Assembly in 1960 the Soviet Union supported two resolutions requesting the states participating in the Geneva negotiations to continue their voluntary suspension of tests.

The French, who were not a party to the Geneva negotiations, had begun an atomic testing program of their own in 1960. In that year they exploded three small atomic devices in the Sahara. On each occasion the Soviet Union issued a critical statement, but the Soviet delegation at Geneva refrained from raising the question of the French tests or proposing French participation in the negotiations. The Soviet Representative, Ambassador Tsarapkin, mentioned the French tests for the first time on March 21, 1961. After a fourth French test, the Soviet Union declared on May 15 that agreement on a test ban would be impossible if "any member of the association of Western Powers" carried out any further tests. There were no French tests after that date. The United States and the United Kingdom continued to refrain from testing, and they also provided no assistance to the French testing program.

Initial Area of Agreement

By the beginning of 1961 the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union had reached agreement on many points. All three powers agreed that nuclear weapon tests should be discontinued under a treaty with international controls. They agreed that the control system should be based on the report of the 1958 Conference of Experts, which had recommended the creation of a worldwide network of ground control posts and shipborne posts, as well as aircraft flights, to detect possible violations of a test-ban agreement.

The three nations had agreed on the preamble, 17 articles, and two annexes of a draft treaty. These agreed parts of the treaty included provisions for the cessation of nuclear weapon tests, the installation and operation of the control system on the territories of the parties, undertakings concerning cooperation with the system, and periodic review. The agreed parts of the treaty also provided for an international Control Organization, with headquarters at Vienna, to verify compliance with the treaty. There was to be a Control Commission of seven members (the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and four other states), an Administrator to serve as chief executive officer, and a Conference of Parties. The treaty was to remain in force indefinitely, subject to the right of a party to withdraw if treaty provisions were not observed. One of the agreed annexes described the privileges and immunities of the Control Organization, and the other provided for a Preparatory Commission to operate during the interval between the signature of the treaty and the time when the permanent control organization was established.

There was also agreement in substance on other vital aspects of the treaty. The Soviet Union had accepted the American proposal for treaty coverage of underground nuclear tests above a threshold of seismic magnitude 4.75, and all three governments had agreed to make separate declarations, when the treaty was signed, that they would observe a moratorium on underground tests below the threshold while a seismic research program was carried out to improve the capability of the system to identify small underground explosions. Agreement had also been reached at the technical level on methods for detecting high-altitude tests.

Outstanding Issues at the Beginning of 1961

Although the Conference had agreed that the Control Commission should consist of seven states, it was split over a Soviet demand for East-West parity. The Soviet Union insisted that the Commission must be composed of three Western countries, three Communist countries, and one neutral country. Patient negotiation had resulted in compromises on the voting procedures of the Commission, but the Soviet Union was still demanding a veto on the budget and on certain staff appointments.

There was also disagreement on the length of the moratorium on underground tests below the 4.75 threshold. The United States had proposed a moratorium on such tests, to coincide with the seismic research program that it was planning to carry out. The moratorium was to begin when the treaty was signed and to continue for the time required for what remained of the 2-year seismic research program,

plus a period of 3 months to review the results of the program. When the moratorium came to an end, the threshold was to be reviewed in the light of the results of the program. If the program was successful, the threshold could be lowered or even abolished. Before the results were known, however, the United States could not commit itself to permanent cessation of small underground tests. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, wanted the moratorium to last 4 to 5 years, and insisted that no power should have the right to resume underground tests at the end of that period, regardless of the results of the research program.

The U.S. seismic research program involved plans for a number of nuclear explosions. The United States was planning to use some of its obsolete nuclear weapons for this purpose, and it invited Soviet participation in the program. The Soviet Union, however, held that the nuclear explosions were unnecessary and refused to contribute any nuclear devices of its own. At the same time it insisted on the right to inspect the internal mechanism of any nuclear devices used in the program. Without this privilege it would regard any nuclear explosion as a weapons test and would consider itself free to resume weapons testing. The Soviet Union also demanded the same right of inspection for peaceful nuclear explosions.

It had been agreed that the choice of the Administrator would require unanimous agreement of the three countries and that he should be responsible for carrying out the provisions of the treaty and the decisions of the Commission. It was also agreed that there should be five Deputy Administrators. The First Deputy, who was to act as Administrator when the latter was unable for any reason to carry out his duties, was to be chosen by the Commission with the concurring votes of the three original parties. The other four Deputies were to be equally divided between the two sides. The United States and the United Kingdom felt that the Administrator should be permitted to choose his own assistants, but the Soviet Union insisted that all the Deputies should be chosen by the Commission.

In regard to the staffing of the Control Organization, it had been agreed that the staff of the control posts and headquarters should be recruited in equal thirds from (1) the Soviet Union, (2) the United States and the United Kingdom, and (3) other countries. Dispute arose, however, over a Soviet demand for subdivision of the last group called the "third third" by political categories, i.e., that personnel in this category should be equally recruited from Soviet allies, Western allies, and other countries. There was no agreement on the staffing of onsite inspection teams. In the case of the three original parties, the two Western Powers held that these teams should be recruited from nations of the other side, while the Soviet Union insisted that half the members must be nationals of the inspected country.

There were sharp divergencies on the question of onsite inspection of unidentified seismic events that might be underground explosions. The United States and the United Kingdom never proposed inspection of all unidentified events. In 1959 Premier Khrushchev had accepted a suggestion by Prime Minister Macmillan for an annual quota of veto-free onsite inspections. The actual number of such inspections, however, remained to be determined. The United States and the United Kingdom believed that the quota should bear a relation to the number of unidentified events above the threshold that would occur each year. Western experts estimated that there would be an average of about 100 such events in the Soviet Union each year. The Western Powers proposed three ways of determining the annual quota: (1) 20 percent of all located events, (2) 30 percent of all such events that remained unidentified after application of U.S. criteria, or (3) a flat figure of 20 inspections. The Soviet Union took the position that the quota should have no relationship to the number of unidentified events and offered only three onsite inspections a year—a number which the Western Powers considered totally inadequate.

Related to the inspection quota question was the problem of criteria. There was basic agreement on most of the criteria which should be applied to determine the eligibility of unidentified seismic events for onsite inspection, but the United States and the United Kingdom were unwilling to accept a Soviet requirement that an event, to be eligible for inspection, must be localized within an area of 200 square kilometers.

The American and British delegations had proposed 21 control posts for the Soviet Union. The Soviet delegation, however, argued that 15 would be enough. This issue arose out of a dispute on how many of the 37 control posts allocated to Asia by the 1958 Conference of Experts should be situated on Soviet territory.

The Soviet Union objected to an Anglo-American draft article on parties to the treaty, which provided for accession by any "state or authority." The United States proposed this language in order to avoid placing any party in the position of being forced to "grant some new or different status to specific authorities." It felt that the word "authority" was broad enough to cover regimes not enjoying wide *de jure* recognition and that there would be no need to determine whether a particular regime had acceded as a "State" or an "authority." The Soviet Representative insisted on deleting the term "authority" on the ground that the United States was trying to secure the accession of the Republic of China as a State and ignoring the claims of the Communist Chinese regime.

New Western Compromise Proposals, March 21, 1961

It was the intention of the United States, President Kennedy declared in his first state of the Union message, to "resume negotiations prepared to reach a final agreement with any nation that is equally willing to agree to an effective and enforceable treaty." The technical problems were reviewed by a panel headed by Dr. James B. Fisk, president of the Bell Telephone Laboratories. The U.S. Disarmament Administration and other interested agencies of the U.S. Government also undertook a thorough review of the outstanding issues, and discussions were held with the British at the end of February 1961.

The outcome of this policy review was a new compromise proposal submitted by the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Dean, when the Conference reconvened on March 21. The new proposal went far toward meeting the Soviet position on many major questions. The U.S. Representative offered, if agreement could be reached on other issues, to accept the Soviet demand for parity on the Control Commission by expanding that body to 11 members—four Western states, four Communist states, and three neutrals. He accepted the inspection procedures which the Soviet Union had proposed for nuclear explosions for research or peaceful purposes. He proposed compromises on the length of the moratorium, suggesting 3 years instead of the shorter period previously proposed by the West, and on the number of control posts in the Soviet Union. The Western Powers were now willing to move two of the 21 control posts across the Soviet border into adjoining Asian countries, provided that the Soviet Union agreed to move to Canada or Mexico one of the control posts allocated to the United States. They agreed to the Soviet demand for a veto on the budget as a whole, but not to a veto on individual items. The Western Powers were now ready to extend treaty coverage to high-altitude tests, and the U.S. Representative later proposed technical improvements in the control system—the addition of certain equipment to the ground control posts and the launching of several earth and solar satellites—to make this possible. Finally, the Western Powers agreed that the treaty should require the Administrator, in staffing control posts, to keep an exact numerical balance within the "third third" between the United States and its allies on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and its allies on the other hand, with the remainder to be chosen from uncommitted nations.

The Soviet Demand for a "Troika"

The Soviet Union offered no compromises. The Soviet Representative made only two new proposals at the March 21 meeting.

The first Soviet proposal struck at the heart of the Control Organization by calling for the replacement of the single Administrator by a tripartite administrative council consisting of one Communist, one Western, and one neutral representative, each of whom would have a right of veto. Premier Khrushchev had first proposed a "troika" arrangement at the 15th General Assembly, where he had launched a violent personal attack on the then U.N. Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjold, for his actions in the Congo crisis and had demanded reorganization of the Secretariat on a tripartite basis. (See p. 67.) This was the first time, however, that the "troika" had been applied to the administrative authority of the Control Organization for a nuclear test ban.

Soviet Response to Western Offers

The Soviet Union responded to the Western compromises by accepting only those parts of the proposals which corresponded with past Soviet positions. The Soviet Representative agreed to 11 members for the Control Commission, since this gave the Soviet Union the parity which it had been demanding. He agreed to the high-altitude controls, based on the report of the 1959 Working Group which the Soviet Union had previously endorsed. He agreed to the inspection procedures on research and peaceful-uses nuclear explosions, which were identical with those previously proposed by the Soviet Union. He refused to change his position on the length of the moratorium, the number of control posts on Soviet territory, the item veto on the budget, or any of the other outstanding issues.

In discussing the installation schedule for the control system, it developed that the Soviet Union did not contemplate beginning onsite inspection until 4 years after the treaty entered into force. The Western Powers believed that enough control posts could be placed in operation on the territories of the three original parties to locate some unidentified seismic events within 2 years and that onsite inspections could therefore begin within that period.

The Anglo-American Draft Treaty, April 18, 1961

In spite of the discouraging Soviet response to their proposals, the United States and the United Kingdom continued their efforts to reach agreement. On April 18 they tabled a complete draft treaty, which they were prepared to sign immediately. In introducing the treaty the U.S. Representative declared:

> The draft treaty which we now table is complete. It covers, we believe, every necessary element of an over-all agreement for the discontinuance of nuclear

weapon tests. We strongly believe that it represents a sound, fair, equitable and workable treaty. We believe that its provisions call for an adequate control system and a system which does not impose undue burdens upon any party to the treaty.

The draft treaty which we present today is a treaty which the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom are prepared to sign immediately to end tests underground above the seismic scale of magnitude 4.75, in the sensible atmosphere, in the oceans and in outer space.

Its signature would, of course, be accompanied, as we have previously agreed, by unilateral declarations on the part of the three original parties undertaking a moratorium of an agreed duration on underground tests below the treaty threshold level of 4.75 and by agreement that seismic research programmes undertaken by any of the original parties subsequent to signature of the treaty would involve application of agreed safeguards to such nuclear explosions as may be included in those research programmes. It is to be hoped that at the end of the seismic research programmes our then knowledge will permit us to lower the treaty threshold.

He emphasized, however, that the treaty was not offered on a "take it or leave it basis" and that the United States and the United Kingdom were prepared to consider any Soviet ideas or suggestions.

The draft treaty included the previously agreed articles and annexes, with minor drafting changes, and the new proposals tabled by the United States and the United Kingdom since the resumption of negotiations in March. In the article concerning parties to the treaty, which had been a subject of dispute in the 1960 negotiations, the United States and the United Kingdom dropped the expression "authorities." In introducing the revised article, the U.S. Representative made it clear that the use of the word "State" alone did not create any implication of political recognition.

United States Proposal for "Sliding Scale" of Inspections, May 12, 1961

In a further effort to solve the crucial problem of the annual quota of onsite inspections, the U.S. Representative proposed on May 12 to set up a "sliding scale." The purpose of this proposal was to give the Soviet Union assurance that there would not be an excessive number of inspections on its territory. Under the new formula the number of inspections each year would vary between 12 and 20, depending on the number of unidentified seismic events located by the control system. If there were no more than 60 such events, only 12 inspections could take place. One additional inspection would be permitted for each five events over 60, but there could never be more than 20 inspections in any year. The Soviet Representative rejected this proposal out of hand.

Debate on the "Troika"

The United States and the United Kingdom completely rejected the Soviet demand for a tripartite administrative council to replace the single Administrator to which all three nations had previously agreed. The U.S. Representative pointed out that the Western Powers had accepted the Soviet demand for parity on the Control Commission, which was to be the chief policymaking organ. They had also agreed to Soviet demands for parity in the top echelons of the organization. The U.S. Representative felt that these steps adequately protected Soviet interests. To accept the "troika," in which all decisions would have to be made by unanimous consent, would cripple the executive organ and render the Control Organization helpless.

He accused the Soviet Union of executing a "backwards somersault" or "backflip" by introducing the demand for a "troika." He pointed out that the principle of one-man administrative responsibility was recognized in the domestic affairs of all countries, including the Soviet Union. The "troika" proposal, however, gave each member of the administrative council a veto on control operations. There could be no assurance, he said, under such circumstances, that the treaty would be observed.

In reply the Soviet Representative charged the Western Powers with trying to obtain an undue advantage in the Control Organization and to make control operations dependent on the whim of a single individual who might fall under Western influence and take actions prejudicial to the security of states.

Exchange of Notes Between the United States and the Soviet Union, June 4–August 9, 1961

On June 4, during their Vienna meeting, Premier Khrushchev handed President Kennedy an aide memoire confirming the position taken by the Soviet delegation at Geneva. The aide memoire defended the "troika," insisted that there must be no resumption of underground testing after the moratorium, and asserted that an annual quota of only three onsite inspections was fully adequate. In the Soviet view, the "troika" was necessary because there were not, and could not be, any neutral men who could be trusted to carry out the duties of administering the control system. The Soviet Union denied, however, that the "troika" could be used to prevent onsite inspections. For the first time, the Soviet Union suggested the possibility of merging the test ban with general and complete disarmament. In 1955, the Soviet Union had been the first nuclear power to suggest separation of the test-ban issue from disarmament.

Further correspondence was exchanged between the American Embassy at Moscow and the Soviet Foreign Ministry. The American note of June 17 declared that the United States still regarded a test ban as a "prime objective," but expressed doubt that the Soviet Union still wanted an agreement. More progress had been made on the test-ban question than on any other aspect of disarmament, but the Soviet Union had responded to the Western compromise proposals of March 1961 by withdrawing its previous agreement to a single Administrator and by refusing to yield an inch on any other questions. The United States believed that the "troika" gave each member the power to obstruct onsite inspection and undid all the progress that had been made toward agreement on an effective control system. The United States was confident, contrary to the Soviet assertions, that there were men who could be relied upon to implement international agreements objectively, and it believed that such men had an important part to play in developing "a more stable future." It refused to throw away the progress so far achieved in the test-ban talks, and it continued to believe that the best and most expeditious way of reaching agreement to stop tests was to keep the negotiations on this subject separate from the general disarmament negotiations.

The Soviet reply, dated July 5, tried to pin on the United States the responsibility for failure to reach agreement and accused the United States of plotting to resume testing as soon as the moratorium ran out. This note also contained a violent attack on Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold and on American democracy. In even stronger terms, the note defended the "troika" on the ground that it was necessary to protect the Soviet Union from espionage conducted by American "stooges." The Soviet Union again declared that the way out of the deadlock was to merge the test-ban question with agreement on general and complete disarmament, which would remove the obstacle of the "troika."

The American note of July 15 made no attempt to reply to the "irrelevant and unwarranted comments" of the Soviet reply. The United States believed that the central issue was whether the Soviet Union was willing to conclude a treaty banning nuclear tests under effective international control. To link the test-ban issue with disarmament would only create new obstacles. The United States wished to negotiate a disarmament treaty as quickly as possible, and a test-ban agreement could only facilitate disarmament negotiations. Failure to agree on a test ban, however, could only hinder the disarmament effort. The United States appealed to the Soviet Union to negotiate reasonably:

> For its part, the United States Government must express its profound regret at the turn of events that has taken place in the test ban conference. The

United States still regards the reaching of an agreement as a prime objective of its national policy. It repeats its readiness to negotiate in a reasonable spirit with the Soviet Government on the terms of a test ban treaty. Despite the lateness of the hour, the United States believes that the Soviet Government cannot be insensible to the demands of millions of people everywhere that agreement be reached urgently to ban nuclear weapons tests under effective control.

A binding treaty with effective controls would guarantee against hazards involved in testing; it would be a first step along the road towards accord on disarmament and towards the improvement of East-West relations; and it would inhibit the spread of nuclear weapons manufacturing capability. The prize we seek is too valuable and the consequences of our failure to win it are too serious to permit the luxury of indulging in narrow and temporary national interests. The United States Government makes common cause with all humanity when it urges the Soviet Government to allow the negotiators at Geneva to get on with their work.

Replying on August 9, the Soviet Union said that the American position made it impossible to conclude a test-ban agreement and that the Western Powers would have to take the responsibility. It charged the United States with trying to legalize tests and creating an international control agency which would be "a pliant tool in the hands of the Western powers and would be used by their general staffs to collect required intelligence." The Soviet Union reaffirmed its position in favor of merging the test ban with general and complete disarmament.

New United States Efforts

The United States nevertheless persevered in its efforts to achieve agreement on a treaty for the cessation of nuclear weapon tests. A panel headed by Dr. Panofsky of Stanford University examined the question of what the Soviet Union could accomplish from clandestine testing and how such clandestine testing might affect U.S. national security. The report of the panel was not published, but President Kennedy concluded, as he stated on August 10, that, in the absence of international inspection, no country could be sure that a nation with a closed society was not conducting secret tests. He then announced that Ambassador Dean would return to Geneva to ascertain whether the Soviet Union was now prepared to conclude a test-ban agreement. The President stated:

. . . It is my hope that he will succeed in convincing the Soviet representatives that the test ban treaty which we have proposed and stand ready to use as a basis for serious negotiations is a necessary and rational means of reducing the likelihood of nuclear war and, if we are successful, would be an admirable beginning in the long road toward general disarmament.

The U.S. Representative brought new proposals to Geneva to allay any Soviet suspicions, however unreasonable, about the moratorium

and the Control Organization. On August 28 he tabled two alternative proposals for reducing or eliminating the treaty threshold on underground tests. The first of these proposals called for an international scientific panel, which would include experts from all countries represented on the Control Commission, to examine the results of the research program at least 6 months before the termination of the moratorium on tests below the threshold. Acting by majority vote, the panel could make recommendations on the lowering or abolition of the threshold. The Control Commission, also by majority vote, could then formally recommend amendments to the treaty.

The second proposal was a suggestion for immediate reexamination of the control system recommended by the 1958 Conference of Experts. The United States was willing to join the Soviet Union in studying possible ways of improving the capability of the system for detection and identification of seismic events. The U.S. Representative pointed out that the capability of the system might be improved by increasing the number of manned control posts, adding unmanned control posts, raising the number of onsite inspections, and making other technical improvements. If the study proved successful, it might be possible so to increase the capability of the system as to make possible the immediate lowering or virtual elimination of the threshold. "We are prepared," the U.S. Representative stated, "to do everything possible to advance and to make workable a nuclear test ban treaty which would eventually and as soon as possible ban all further nuclear tests in the earth's atmosphere, in outer space, in the oceans and all tests underground, just as soon as it is scientifically possible to do so." The American and British Representatives both pointed out that the Soviet Union had reversed its previous position, clearly stated in 1958–1959, of separating the test-ban question from disarmament, and was now merging the two issues.

The Soviet Representative did not discuss the substance of the new U.S. proposals. He said that the situation had changed since 1958 and 1959, when a test-ban agreement might have played a useful role. The Soviet Union was now unwilling, therefore, to accept international control for a test ban in the absence of disarmament. "Without disarmament," he declared, "under the conditions of a mad arms race and the intensive military preparations of the Western Powers, it would be a control system only in name and would in effect be a system of espionage."

On August 30 the U.S. Representative introduced a new proposal to give the Soviet Union additional assurance that the Administrator would not be permitted to act arbitrarily. He proposed formal treaty language giving the Control Commission authority to dismiss an Administrator who was insubordinate, incompetent, or incapable of

carrying out his duties. A second Western proposal, intended to give the Soviet Union assurance that onsite inspection teams could not be used for espionage purposes, provided that one-half the members should be chosen from neutral nations. The Soviet Representative rejected these proposals out of hand and repeated his charges of Western "espionage" schemes.

Soviet Union Resumes Tests

On the night of August 30, the Soviet Government, without giving any further consideration to the new proposals advanced by the United States, announced resumption of nuclear weapons tests. It attempted to justify resumption of nuclear tests by asserting that the defensive measures taken by the Western Powers after the outbreak of the Berlin crisis had raised the danger of war, and that any armed conflict involving the nuclear powers "would inevitably grow into a universal rocket and nuclear war." Blaming the Western Powers for failing to accept its disarmament proposals, the Soviet Government stated that destruction of stockpiles of nuclear weapons would of necessity bring an end to tests. In its view, however, a test ban would not put an end to the arms race. The nuclear powers, the Soviet Government said, would be tempted to violate a test ban, and other states would attempt to develop nuclear weapons.

The White House immediately commented that the Soviet decision would cause concern and resentment throughout the world and that the danger of nuclear war had increased. It was now clear that the Soviet Union had deliberately pursued a policy of obstruction at Geneva in order to "free its hands to resume nuclear weapons testing." The United States continued to believe that an agreement to end tests under effective safeguards would be a "major breakthrough in the search for an end to the arms race." Ambassador Dean was recalled at once.

Anglo-American Proposal for a Ban on Atmospheric Tests

On September 3 President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan jointly proposed an immediate agreement with the Soviet Union "not to conduct nuclear tests which take place in the atmosphere and produce radioactive fallout." A reply was requested by September 9. They believed that such an agreement, for which existing means of detection would be sufficient, would protect humanity from the hazards of radioactive fallout and contribute to easing international tensions. They also reaffirmed their desire for a comprehensive

treaty to cover testing in other environments and regretted that the Soviet Union had prevented conclusion of such a treaty.

Premier Khrushchev's reply was handed to the American and British Ambassadors at Moscow on September 9 and read into the Conference record by the Soviet Representative on the same date. The Soviet Premier accused the Western Powers of isolating the test-ban question from the "tense international atmosphere" and other disarmament problems. He asserted that the West was trying to retain "unilateral military advantages to the detriment of the security interests of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states." In his opinion, an atmospheric ban would tie the hands of the Soviet Union but permit the Western Powers to improve weapons by testing in other environments. He declared that the only way to end tests was to agree on general and complete disarmament. The Soviet tests, which had begun on September 1, were continued. By the end of October the Soviet Union had exploded nearly 50 nuclear devices.

President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan expressed regret that the Soviet Union had rejected their proposal. They reaffirmed their readiness to "negotiate a controlled nuclear test ban agreement of the widest possible scope." The Geneva Conference recessed on September 9.

Resumption of United States Tests

President Kennedy announced on September 5, after the third Soviet test, that the United States would resume nuclear tests in the laboratory and underground, with no fallout. He made the following explanation:

> . . . In our efforts to achieve an end to nuclear testing, we have taken every step that reasonable men could justify. In view of the acts of the Soviet Government, we must now take those steps which prudent men find essential. We have no other choice in fulfillment of the responsibilities of the United States Government to its own citizens and to the security of other free nations.

United States White Paper

The whole story of the Geneva negotiations prior to the September 9 recess was thoroughly reviewed in a 641 page white paper released by the American delegation to the United Nations on October 19. This publication, entitled *Geneva Conference on the Discontinuance of Nuclear Weapon Tests: History and Analysis of Negotiations*, gives a full and objective account of the negotiations. In the introductory letter of transmittal to the President, Secretary of State Rusk wrote that Soviet responsibility for failure to reach agreement was

"clear and unmistakable." Referring to the Soviet record in the 1961 negotiations, he said:

> . . . the recent pattern of Soviet negotiation at Geneva has been marked by intransigence and retrograde steps. This situation is most discouraging when contrasted with the promise of success given by the apparent progress made at the Conference's earlier stages. It is now obvious that during this year preparations were being made by the Soviet Union which could have no other effect but to frustrate completely the Conference's purpose of achieving a permanent, safeguarded cessation of nuclear weapon tests. The result of these preparations was thrust upon an unsuspecting world by the detonation of an extensive series of atmospheric nuclear weapons blasts. As a final gesture of its refusal of even a partial resolution of the testing question, the Soviet Union, after its resumption of tests, rejected Prime Minister Macmillan's and your proposal to join in an agreement banning those tests which would provide at least some assurance to the world of freedom from the potential hazards of radioactive fallout.

Secretary Rusk concluded by reaffirming American willingness to sign the draft treaty and the determination of the United States to "pursue a course which makes abundantly clear our desire to achieve meaningful measures of disarmament looking toward the final abolition of war."

Resumption of Negotiations

After the first part of the 16th General Assembly had completed its debate on the nuclear-test question and approved a resolution calling for resumption of negotiations, the American Embassy at Moscow addressed a note to the Soviet Foreign Ministry proposing that the Conference be reconvened on November 28, 1961. At the same time the Department of State pointed out that the Soviet Union was in a position, if it so desired, to allay concern about the health hazards of testing by returning to the conference table and concluding an early test-ban agreement with adequate safeguards. This, the Department said, could "bring a secure and permanent halt to nuclear weapons testing and . . . assure the world that there will be no repetition of another series of secretly prepared massive Soviet explosions. For its part the United States will not abandon the objective of agreement on a comprehensive test-ban treaty but will pursue its own program of carefully circumscribed testing until such agreement is reached."

The Soviet Union accepted the invitation to resume negotiations but warned that it would be "compelled to draw appropriate conclusions" if any power started nuclear weapons tests while the talks were in progress. The Department of State welcomed Soviet acceptance and expressed the view that early agreement on a test-ban treaty with effective controls would be possible if rapid and constructive efforts were made. Pointing out that the Soviet Union had recently carried

out the most extensive series of tests in history and that it had prepared these tests during the *de facto* moratorium which it had pledged to observe, the Department said that the United States would continue to "take such actions as it deems necessary to safeguard its national security interests until a controlled test-ban agreement is achieved."

New Soviet Proposal

On the day before the Conference reconvened, the Soviet Government released in Moscow a statement in which it declared that an entirely new approach was necessary, "one which would eliminate the difficulties and obstacles which have hindered agreement in the past." The Soviet Government attributed the failure of the past negotiations to an attempt by the Western Powers to secure "unilateral advantages to the detriment of the security interests of the other side." Although the Soviet Union would not agree to a test ban on the old, "completely discredited basis," it was prepared to conclude immediately an agreement on the discontinuance of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under water, and in outer space. The Soviet Union asserted that national systems of detection were adequate to discover any tests in these environments and that international controls were therefore unnecessary. It proposed an undertaking by states to refrain from underground tests until agreement was reached on a "system of control over underground explosions as a constituent part of an international system of control over the implementation of a programme of general and complete disarmament." Finally, it demanded the inclusion of France in the negotiations. The Soviet Government released a short draft agreement along these lines.

Proceedings of the Geneva Conference, November 28–December 21, 1961

The 341st meeting of the Geneva Conference took place on November 28, 1961. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Dean, expressed the earnest hope that the three nations would be able to report substantial progress by December 14, the date set by the 16th General Assembly for their report. At the same time, however, he made it clear that the situation had substantially changed since the previous recess. The Soviet Union had made "an unwarranted attempt to gain for itself a unilateral advantage in the nuclear field." This meant that the Conference could not simply take up where it left off. There was no chance, the U.S. Representative said,

of "any pre-treaty commitment by the United States not to conduct any nuclear tests of any character in any environment which it deems essential for the national security of itself and its associates." The Soviet tests had shown the necessity of having an effective international control system to check on tests, and the world could not rely on the pledges of governments to observe obligations in the disarmament field. Moreover, the U.S. Representative said, there could be no progress in the negotiations unless the Soviet Union completely reversed the attitude it had taken during the March–September talks.

The Soviet Representative, Ambassador Tsarapkin, replied that the Western Powers had not learned the lesson of the previous negotiations. Life itself, he said, had shown that a test ban with international controls, apart from general and complete disarmament, could not be attained. The new Soviet proposal represented, in his view, the only possible way of dealing with nuclear tests at the present time. The Soviet Union could not agree to control posts or inspection teams on its territory while the arms race continued. The new Soviet proposal was an attempt to find an "intermediate solution" pending agreement on general and complete disarmament, when the Soviet Union would be willing to accept any control on its territory that the Western Powers proposed.

The American and British representatives pointed out that the new Soviet proposal for a test-ban agreement without international controls completely contradicted the position taken by the Soviet Union since 1958. There had been international tensions in that year, just as there were in 1961, but the Soviet Union had then accepted the report of the Conference of Experts and agreed in principle to international control on its territory, including control posts and inspection teams. At the very time that the Soviet Government was secretly preparing to resume tests, the Soviet Representative at Geneva had continued to pay lip service to the experts' report and to the agreed draft articles of the treaty. The British Representative asked him how he could explain away what could only be described as "colossal hypocrisy."

After reviewing the situation on December 12 Charles C. Stelle, Acting U.S. Representative, concluded:

> . . . The facts show that the Soviet Union acted with a total absence of good faith and spared no effort to deceive its negotiating partners around this table. We shall not be deceived again. We shall not agree to a test ban without controls. We see no reason to undertake any paper pledge not to test, when our own security requires it, until a sound internationally controlled treaty has been concluded. And in our view, a sound treaty means an agreement which follows along the general lines of the United Kingdom-United States draft of 18 April 1961, as amended.

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The Soviet Government issued public statements on December 4 and 13 blaming the Western Powers for failure to reach agreement on a test ban. The second of these statements warned that the Soviet Government would be "forced to take the decision to hold nuclear weapons tests in the Soviet Union, in order to maintain the country's defensive capacity permanently at a high level."

In accordance with the terms of the 16th General Assembly resolution, a record of the resumed sessions was transmitted to the General Assembly on December 14. Negotiations continued after that date, but no further progress was made. On December 19 the United States and the United Kingdom submitted a report to the Disarmament Commission analyzing the situation in full. The report stated that the hopes aroused by the Soviet agreement to return to Geneva were dashed by the new Soviet proposal, which was in effect a call for a moratorium without any international controls, contrary to the terms of the General Assembly resolution:

> This Soviet proposal amounted to an uncontrolled agreement on the suspension of all nuclear tests. It repudiated every previous agreement for international inspection and control undertaken by the USSR during three years of patient and laborious negotiations at Geneva. It abandoned as well commitments made in other international forums and in correspondence between the Heads of Government of the United States, the United Kingdom and the USSR, in which the Soviet Union continually professed its willingness to accept effective, reliable, workable and impartial international controls to guarantee fulfilment of its disarmament obligations.

The United States and the United Kingdom recalled that the Soviet Union had submitted a proposal for a test ban with international controls to the Disarmament Subcommittee as long ago as June 14, 1957. It had agreed to the recommendations of the 1958 Conference of Experts and submitted proposals at the Geneva Conference based on those recommendations. The Soviet Union, like the Western Powers, had accepted the report of the 1959 working group on high-altitude tests, which called for international controls. The Soviet delegation at Geneva had agreed to a number of treaty articles providing for the establishment of an international control system. It had indeed tried to hamper effective control and inspection, but it had always accepted the principle of international inspection and control. It had now abandoned this principle.

Since the resumption of negotiations, the Western delegations had tried unsuccessfully to persuade the Soviet delegation to accept a meaningful treaty. They had called the attention of the Soviet delegation to their draft treaty, which contained fair and reasonable proposals, open to negotiation. In view of the Soviet record in breaking its previous pledges and resuming tests, the new Soviet proposal for a paper pledge was not acceptable. The United States and the

United Kingdom, the report concluded, were continuing their efforts to persuade the Soviet Union to "reverse its present position and open the way to fruitful negotiations on the basis recommended by the United Nations General Assembly in resolution 1649 (XVI)." (See p. 30.)

At the 349th meeting on December 21 the Acting U.S. Representative proposed a recess for the holiday season and expressed the hope that the Soviet Union would reconsider its approach. The Conference then recessed until January 16, 1962.

GENERAL DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS

Informal Disarmament Talks Between the United States and the Soviet Union

In March 1961 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, and Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko informally discussed the composition of the forum in which the negotiations should take place. As a result of these talks, they informed the Political and Security Committee of the resumed 15th General Assembly on March 30 that the United States and the Soviet Union had agreed to "continue during June and July their exchange of opinions on questions relating to disarmament and to the resumption of negotiations in an appropriate body whose composition is to be agreed upon" and to report to the General Assembly at its 16th session. The U.S. Representative also stated that the United States was intensively reviewing its disarmament policies and would be ready for fruitful negotiations by the end of July. On April 21 the resumed 15th General Assembly approved a U.S.–Soviet resolution noting the American and Soviet statements and deciding to take up the problem of disarmament and all pending proposals at its 16th session.

The bilateral talks between the United States and the Soviet Union took place in three phases: (1) at Washington, June 19–30, (2) at Moscow, July 17–29, and (3) at New York, September 6–19. John J. McCloy, Adviser to the President on Disarmament, represented the United States. Valerian A. Zorin, Deputy Foreign Minister, headed the Soviet delegation.

From the outset the United States took the position that the purpose of the talks was to reach agreement on a framework of basic principles and the composition of a negotiating forum. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, wished to discuss specific programs for disarmament. It was only during the final phase of the talks that the U.S.S.R. agreed to proceed on the basis suggested by the United States.

In discussing the basic principles, the United States stressed the need for accompanying the disarmament process with the development of institutions and procedures for the peaceful settlement of international disputes and the maintenance of peace and security. The United States insisted on the need for effective verification of disarmament steps to assure states that other parties were fulfilling their obligations. It wished to continue negotiations without interruption until agreement was reached on a total program for general and complete disarmament. At the same time, however, it did not believe that implementation of specific measures or groups of measures should await full agreement on a complete program.

The United States offered the Soviet Union a choice of four negotiating forums:

(1) The Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament. This Committee, composed of five Western and five Communist states, had met in March–June 1960. Negotiations were suspended after Ambassador Zorin and the other Communist Representatives walked out on June 27, 1960. The United States still believed that resumption of negotiations in the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament was a sound and orderly approach, permitting further consideration of disarmament by all U.N. members after a basis for agreement had been reached in the Committee.

(2) The Ten Nation Committee with invited presiding officials. The United States was willing to join other nations in inviting three countries, not members of NATO or the Warsaw Treaty organization, to designate a chairman and two vice chairmen for the Ten Nation Committee. This procedure would have permitted the three officers to use their good offices as appropriate, but it would not have required them to represent their governments or to speak for the "neutral" bloc, as Soviet proposals implied.

(3) A 20-nation committee. The United States also suggested enlarging the Ten Nation Committee by adding 10 new members, chosen on a geographical basis. Since Asia, the Middle East and Africa, and Latin America were unrepresented on the Ten Nation Committee, the United States proposed the addition of three countries from each of these areas. It also proposed adding one European state other than members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Warsaw Pact.

(4) The Disarmament Commission. If none of the preceding alternatives proved acceptable, the United States was willing to negotiate in the Disarmament Commission, which comprised all members of the United Nations. The United States suggested that the Commission could establish subcommittees in which detailed negotiations could be conducted.

The Soviet Union initially took the position that there could be no negotiations until the United States and the Soviet Union had reached a basic understanding on a disarmament program. During June and July the Soviet Representative submitted several papers which described the Soviet position in considerable detail. None of them differed significantly from the proposal for general and complete disarmament submitted by the Soviet Union to the General Assembly on September 23, 1960. The Soviet Representative was unwilling at first to discuss the composition of the negotiating forum until the United States and the Soviet Union agreed on a disarmament plan. The United States pointed out that specific plans should not be discussed in the absence of other states whose interests were affected.

Just before the conclusion of the Moscow phase of the talks, the Soviet Representative commented briefly on the question of the forum. He then proposed the addition of five neutral states to the Ten Nation Committee. This proposal, which the Soviet Union had originally made at the 15th General Assembly, was unacceptable to the United States because it incorporated the "troika" principle of dividing the world into three blocs. The question of the composition of the forum thus remained unsettled until December 1961, when the Soviet Union finally agreed to the establishment of an 18 Nation Committee embodying geographic representation essentially on the basis advocated by the U.S. Representative during the talks.

The outcome of the bilateral talks was the following Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations based on an American draft. The joint statement was submitted by the United States and the Soviet Union to the 16th General Assembly on September 20, 1961:

The United States and the USSR have agreed to recommend the following principles as the basis for future multilateral negotiations on disarmament and to call upon other States to co-operate in reaching early agreement on general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world in accordance with these principles.

. . . . . .

1. The goal of negotiations is to achieve agreement on a programme which will ensure that (a) disarmament is general and complete and war is no longer an instrument for settling international problems, and (b) such disarmament is accompanied by the establishment of reliable procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and effective arrangements for the maintenance of peace in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

2. The programme for general and complete disarmament shall ensure that States will have at their disposal only those non-nuclear armaments, forces, facilities, and establishments as are agreed to be necessary to maintain internal order and protect the personal security of citizens; and that States shall support and provide agreed manpower for a United Nations peace force.

3. To this end, the programme for general and complete disarmament shall contain the necessary provisions, with respect to the military establishment of every nation, for:

(a) Disbanding of armed forces, dismantling of military establishments, including bases, cessation of the production of armaments as well as their liquidation or conversion to peaceful uses;

(b) Elimination of all stockpiles of nuclear, chemical, bacteriological, and other weapons of mass destruction and cessation of the production of such weapons;

(c) Elimination of all means of delivery of weapons of mass destruction;

(d) Abolishment of the organization and institutions designed to organize the military effort of States, cessation of military training, and closing of all military training institutions;

(e) Discontinuance of military expenditures.

4. The disarmament programme should be implemented in an agreed sequence, by stages until it is completed, with each measure and stage carried out within specified time limits. Transition to a subsequent stage in the process of disarmament should take place upon a review of the implementation of measures included in the preceding stage and upon a decision that all such measures have been implemented and verified and that any additional verification arrangements required for measures in the next stage are, when appropriate, ready to operate.

5. All measures of general and complete disarmament should be balanced so that at no stage of the implementation of the treaty could any State or group of States gain military advantage and that security is ensured equally for all.

6. All disarmament measures should be implemented from beginning to end under such strict and effective international control as would provide firm assurance that all parties are honouring their obligations. During and after the implementation of general and complete disarmament, the most thorough control should be exercised, the nature and extent of such control depending on the requirements for verification of the disarmament measures being carried out in each stage. To implement control over and inspection of disarmament, an International Disarmament Organization including all parties to the agreement should be created within the framework of the United Nations. This International Disarmament Organization and its inspectors should be assured unrestricted access without veto to all places as necessary for the purpose of effective verification.

7. Progress in disarmament should be accompanied by measures to strengthen institutions for maintaining peace and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. During and after the implementation of the programme of general and complete disarmament, there should be taken, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, the necessary measures to maintain international peace and security, including the obligation of States to place at the disposal of the United Nations agreed manpower necessary for an international peace force to be equipped with agreed types of armaments. Arrangements for the use of this force should ensure that the United Nations can effectively deter or suppress any threat or use of arms in violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

8. States participating in the negotiations should seek to achieve and implement the widest possible agreement at the earliest possible date. Efforts should continue without interruption until agreement upon the total programme has been achieved, and efforts to ensure early agreement on and implementation of measures of disarmament should be undertaken without prejudicing progress

on agreement on the total programme and in such a way that these measures would facilitate and form part of that programme.

The joint statement included several principles which the United States had strongly advocated during the bilateral talks: the development of international peacekeeping machinery, an adequate control system, and possible implementation of initial measures before final agreement on a complete program. The Soviet Union, however, insisted on deleting one clause which the United States considered vital. This was the verification of retained forces and armaments at each stage.

In a letter of September 20 to Ambassador Zorin, Ambassador McCloy declared:

> This . . . expresses a key element in the United States position which we believe is implicit in the entire joint statement of agreed principles that whenever an agreement stipulates that at a certain point certain levels of forces and armament may be retained, the verification machinery must have all the rights and powers necessary to ensure that those levels are not exceeded.

Ambassador McCloy made it clear that the omission of this provision from the joint statement in no way prejudiced the position of the United States. Ambassador Zorin, following the same line that he had taken in the Ten Nation Committee during the 1960 negotiations, told Ambassador McCloy in a letter of the same date that control of retained forces and arms amounted to "legalized espionage, which of course, cannot be accepted. . . ."

General Assembly Consideration of Disarmament

Consideration at Resumed Session of the Fifteenth General Assembly

Consideration of the item "Question of Disarmament" began in the fall of 1960, during the first part of the 15th General Assembly. Because discussion was not completed, the item was included in the agenda of the resumed session of the 15th General Assembly which convened March 7, 1961. However, because bilateral discussions on the problem of disarmament between the United States and the Soviet Union had commenced at the time the resumed session opened, action was limited in the General Assembly to the passage of a procedural resolution. In this resolution the General Assembly: (1) took note of the declarations of the representatives of the U.S.S.R. and the United States to the effect that they would continue to exchange views on questions relating to disarmament and to the resumption of negotiations in an appropriate body and (2) decided to take up for consideration at its 16th session the problem of disarmament and all pending proposals relating to it.

Consideration at the Sixteenth Session of the General Assembly

When the 16th General Assembly convened on September 19, 1961, it had on its provisional agenda the question of disarmament, two items on cessation of nuclear weapons tests, and an item on the prevention of the dissemination of nuclear weapons. The Assembly's consideration of these questions took place against the backdrop of an agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on broad principles to govern disarmament negotiations. The Assembly's concern that steps be taken toward reaching agreement on disarmament measures and on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests was reflected in the general debate as well as in the Political and Security Committee's discussion of these problems. This concern in regard to cessation of nuclear weapons tests became even more acute with the Soviet announcement on August 30, 1961, of its intention to resume atmospheric testing, followed by a series of Soviet tests culminating in the test of a bomb of over 50 megatons.

A major feature of the general debate was President Kennedy's presentation before the General Assembly on September 25, 1961, of new far-reaching U.S. disarmament proposals. The President announced the U.S. intention to challenge the Soviet Union, "not to an arms race, but to a peace race, to advance together step by step, stage by stage, until general and complete disarmament has been achieved." "For fifteen years," he said, "this organization has sought the reduction and destruction of arms. Now that goal is no longer a dream—it is a practical matter of life and death. The risks inherent in disarmament pale in comparison to the risks inherent in an unlimited arms race."

It was in this spirit, the President said, that the then recent Belgrade Conference endorsed a program of "general, complete and strictly an internationally controlled disarmament." It was in the same spirit that "we in the United States have labored this year, with a new urgency, and with a new, now statutory agency [the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency] fully endorsed by the Congress, to find an approach to disarmament which would be so far-reaching yet realistic, so mutually balanced and beneficial, that it could be accepted by every nation." It was also in this spirit "that we have presented with the agreement of the Soviet Union . . . a new statement of newly-agreed principles for negotiation."

The President then described the new United States program in the following terms: "The program to be presented to this Assembly—for general and complete disarmament under effective and international control—moves to bridge the gap between those who insist on a gradual approach and those who talk only of a final and total achievement. It would create machinery to keep the peace as it de-

stroys the machines of war. It would proceed through balanced and safeguarded stages designed to give no state a military advantage over another. It would place the final responsibility for verification and control where it belongs—not with the big powers alone, not with one's adversary or one's self, but in an international organization within the framework of the United Nations. It would assure that indispensable condition of disarmament—true inspection—and apply it in stages proportionate to the stage of disarmament. It would cover delivery systems as well as weapons. It would ultimately halt their production as well as their testing, their transfer as well as their possession. It would achieve, under the eyes of an international disarmament organization, a steady reduction in force, both nuclear and conventional, until it had abolished all armies and all weapons except those needed for internal order and a new United Nations Peace Force. And it starts that process now, today, even as the talks begin."

The President went on to propose that, on the basis of this plan, disarmament negotiations be resumed promptly and continue without interruption "until an entire program for general and complete disarmament has not only been agreed upon but has been actually achieved."

With specific regard to nuclear testing, the President stated that the logical place to begin disarmament was with a treaty "assuring the end of nuclear tests of all kinds, in every environment, under workable controls." He pointed out that the United States and the United Kingdom had proposed such a treaty—one that was both reasonable and effective and ready for signature and one which they were still prepared to sign.

With regard to the atmospheric test-ban proposal made by the United States and the United Kingdom to the Soviet Union on September 3, the President stated:

"We also proposed a mutual ban on atmospheric testing, without inspection or controls, in order to save the human race from the poison of radioactive fall-out. We regret that that offer was not accepted." Pointing out that for 15 years the United States had sought to make the atom an instrument of peaceful growth rather than of war and that U.S. concessions had been matched by obstruction, he recalled that for 3 years the United States had accepted the risks of an uninspected ban on testing in its open society while seeking agreement on inspection. When "the explosions of others beclouded the skies," the President stated, "the United States had no alternative but to act in the interest of its own and the Free World security. We cannot," he said, "endanger that security by refraining from testing while others improve their arsenals. Nor can we endanger it again by another long, uninspected ban on testing."

President Kennedy's presentation of the new disarmament proposals was well received and many delegates commented favorably on them.

Speaking before the General Assembly on September 26, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko restated the U.S.S.R.'s view on disarmament and nuclear testing. Referring to the importance of the program for general and complete disarmament which was introduced in the 14th session of the General Assembly by Premier Khrushchev, he alleged that the failure of the Ten Nation Disarmament Committee talks (see p. 20) was brought about by the "opponents of disarmament" who "did their utmost to prevent any agreement on general and complete disarmament, and again to prevent the negotiations from being pulled out of the rut of inane talks." (In fact, the Soviet bloc had broken up the talks in June 1960 by walking out.)

Foreign Minister Gromyko expressed the view that the bilateral exchange of views between the United States and the Soviet Union had yielded positive results. Referring to the agreed statement of principles which had emerged from these talks, he observed that there was "a real danger that attempts might be made to interpret these points in such a way as to give them a content that is really alien to genuine disarmament." These negotiations, he said, "failed to surmount the cardinal disagreement" on whether the objective should be control over arms or control over disarmament. United States insistence on inspection of remaining arms as well as over arms destroyed "would only result in a potential aggressor's obtaining that very information on the armed forces and armaments of States . . . that could serve the purpose of aggression. . . . Unless the advocates of control over armaments renounce their position, . . ." he asserted, "disarmament talks will continue to be . . . doomed to failure." He reiterated the oft repeated Soviet position of willingness to "accept any proposals of the Western powers on control over disarmament if those powers accepted the proposals of the Soviet Union on general and complete disarmament." The Soviet Union, he said, had not yet received a reply to that statement.

With regard to the composition of the disarmament forum, Mr. Gromyko reiterated the Soviet Government's position that "representatives of the three main groups of states" should be included as equal members (the "Troika" principle).

On the subject of nuclear testing he attempted to justify Soviet resumption of testing, charging that France was conducting tests not only for itself but for NATO as well. Nuclear testing by the Soviet Union, he insisted, was a defensive measure necessitated by the aggressive actions of the NATO powers. The signing of a separate treaty on nuclear testing would, he said, create the illusion of security while the

arms race continued. The resolution of the question of "halting all nuclear tests," he said, "is only possible on the basis of general and complete disarmament. . . ."

Referring to measures which the Soviet Union proposed to reduce tensions and which were circulated to the General Assembly, Mr. Gromyko stated that the Soviet Union considered it useful, parallel with negotiations on general and complete disarmament, to reach an understanding on a number of these measures. Among those he included were a nonaggression pact between the NATO and Warsaw treaty countries, the creation of atom-free zones, the withdrawal of foreign troops from alien territories, and other measures. In this connection, he considered that particular attention should be paid to ". . . the necessity for the withdrawal of foreign troops from alien territories within the national bounds of states." Detailed proposals on these issues, he said, were contained in a special memorandum the Soviet Government was submitting to the General Assembly.

"I repeat," he stated, "the implementation of these measures must not be made contingent on agreement on disarmament questions, while the achievement of agreement on disarmament must not be made dependent on a decision regarding the above measures."

Concluding his remarks on disarmament, Mr. Gromyko stated that "The Soviet Government would like to express confidence that, as a result of the consideration of the disarmament problem and the measures aimed at easing international tensions, the General Assembly will be able to take decisions which will open up a new chapter in the struggle of the nations for the realization of the age-old dream of mankind to create a world without arms, a world without wars."

Suspension of Nuclear Tests and the Urgent Need for a Test-Ban Treaty

When the 16th General Assembly convened, its provisional agenda already included an item proposed by the United States and the United Kingdom entitled "The Urgent Need for a Treaty to Ban Nuclear Weapons Tests Under Effective International Control," and an item proposed by India, "Continuation of Suspension of Nuclear and Thermo-nuclear Tests and Obligations of States to Refrain from their Renewal." On October 18, the Political and Security Committee voted 83 to 10, with 4 abstentions to list the Indian item first and by a vote of 54 to 13, with 31 abstentions to list the United States-United Kingdom item second on its agenda and to discuss the two items simultaneously. Discussion in the Committee of items relating to disarmament commenced on October 19 and continued through 48 meetings until December 13.

During the course of the meeting on October 19, and the subsequent four meetings, the following substantive draft resolutions relating to the two items were submitted to the Committee: (a) a United Kingdom-United States draft resolution calling for states negotiating at Geneva to reach agreement on a controlled test-ban treaty; (b) an Indian draft resolution urging a voluntary moratorium on testing pending agreement and calling upon the states concerned to conclude such agreement; (c) a Danish draft resolution cosponsored by Canada, Iceland, Iran, Japan, Norway, Pakistan and Sweden, appealing to the U.S.S.R. to refrain from carrying out its announced plan to explode a 50-megaton bomb; (d) an eight-power draft resolution sponsored by Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, Sudan and the U.A.R. inviting all states to respect the African continent as a nuclear free zone and (e) a nine-power draft resolution sponsored by Ceylon, Ethiopia, Ghana, Libya, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, and Indonesia declaring that the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons would violate the U.N. Charter. This latter draft resolution requested the Secretary-General "to consult the Governments of Member States to ascertain their views on the possibility of convening a special conference for signing a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons for war purposes and to report on the results of such consultation to the General Assembly at its Seventeenth Session."

Opening the debate on October 19 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, pointed out that Soviet testing, if continued, would necessarily result in further testing by the United States. Referring to the Indian draft resolution, he stated, "the world knows from bitter experience that an uninspected moratorium will not secure the results which the sponsors of the resolution seek." "There is," he said, "only one safe and sure way to stop nuclear weapons tests and to stop them quickly. And that is to conclude a treaty prohibiting all nuclear weapons tests under effective controls." He further outlined the poor record of the U.S.S.R. in the test-ban negotiations and concluded by stating that if the U.S.S.R. really wanted to stop nuclear testing, the United States challenged it to join now in signing a test-ban treaty. He warned, however, that continued Soviet testing obliged the United States to "reserve the right to make preparations to test in the atmosphere as well as underground."

Danish Resolution on Soviet 50-Megaton Bomb Test

Meanwhile, Premier Khrushchev had disclosed on October 17 that the Soviet Union planned to climax its current series of tests by exploding a 50-megaton bomb at the end of October. Denmark and seven other countries bordering on the Soviet Union at once intro-

duced a resolution appealing to the Soviet Government to refrain from carrying out the test. The sponsors accepted an Indian amendment deleting references to Premier Khrushchev's statement and the "adverse effect" of the test on health and welfare. On October 25 the Political and Security Committee adopted an Iranian motion giving overriding priority to the eight-power resolution. On the same day it adopted the eight-power draft resolution as amended by a vote of 75 (U.S.) to 10 (Soviet bloc (9) and Cuba), with 1 (Mali) abstention. On October 27 the resolution was adopted by the General Assembly by a vote of 87 (U.S.) to 11 (Soviet bloc (10, now including a new member, Outer Mongolia) and Cuba), with 1 (Mali) abstention.

On October 30, the Soviet Union disregarded the U.N. appeal and tested a 50-megaton weapon. The representatives of the United States and other non-Communist countries, speaking in the Political and Security Committee, deplored the Soviet Union's cynical action. In his reply the Representative of the U.S.S.R. attempted to shift the blame to the West, stating that Soviet testing was a defensive measure necessitated by the Western Powers' aggravation of the international situation.

Indian Resolution on Cessation of Nuclear Weapons Tests

On October 27, in the Political and Security Committee, a motion made by the Representative of Ethiopia was adopted to adjourn general debate in order to undertake immediate discussion of the six-power (Indian) draft resolution submitted by Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Nepal, the U.A.R., and Yugoslavia. During this debate, on November 2, the Committee voted 86 (U.S.) to 10 (Soviet bloc) with 5 (Cuba, France, Indonesia, Iraq, Yugoslavia) abstentions to amend the Indian draft resolution by the addition of an operative paragraph submitted by a group of Latin American countries which expressed confidence that the states concerned would reach agreement as soon as possible on the cessation of tests of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, under appropriate international control. The U.S. Representative in explaining U.S. opposition to the Indian draft resolution stated, "We cannot be in favor of a draft resolution which calls for an uncontrolled and uninspected moratorium. We have learned by bitter experience that such an uncontrolled moratorium on testing simply does not work."

On November 1, speaking for the United States before the Political and Security Committee, Ambassador Arthur H. Dean pointed out that it was the view of the United States that the solution to the problem of nuclear testing lay in a test-ban treaty as a first step along the road to general disarmament, and that another voluntary moratorium, as called for in the Indian resolution, would not accom-

plish this. Concluding his remarks, he stated that if the Indian moratorium draft resolution was adopted, in view of the Soviet Union's disregard of its word, the United States would reserve all rights necessary or appropriate for its own defense and the defense of the common interests of the free world. The Soviet Union also opposed the resolution but on different grounds. Its Representative stated in Committee that the U.S.S.R. could not support the Indian draft resolution since the problem of testing could only be resolved by reaching an agreement on general and complete disarmament. On November 2 the draft resolution as amended was adopted by the Political and Security Committee by a vote of 72 to 21 (Soviet bloc (10), plus Australia, China, France, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Philippines, Portugal, South Africa, U.K., U.S.), with 8 (Afghanistan, Belgium, Cuba, Haiti, Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain, Turkey) abstentions. It was adopted by the General Assembly on November 6, 1961, by a vote of 71 to 20, with 8 abstentions. The only difference from the Political and Security Committee vote was the Philippine change from an opposing to an affirmative vote.

U.S.–U.K. Resolution on a Test-Ban Treaty

On November 6 the U.K.–U.S. draft resolution calling for a resumption of negotiations for a test-ban treaty with effective international control was adopted by the Political and Security Committee by a vote of 67 to 11 (Soviet bloc (10) and Cuba), with 16 (Afghanistan, Cambodia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Syria, U.A.R., Yemen, Yugoslavia) abstentions. The Representative of the Soviet Union spoke against the resolution and asserted that the General Assembly must "immediately deal with the solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament, within which we must also try to settle the question of the suspension of nuclear tests and the existence of nuclear weapons."

The U.K.–U.S. test-ban resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on November 8 by a vote of 71 to 11 (same 11 as in the Political and Security Committee), with 15 (Afghanistan, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Syria, U.A.R., Yemen, Yugoslavia) abstentions.

Africa-Nuclear-Free Zone Resolution and Resolution Outlawing Nuclear Weapons

Discussion of the Africa-Nuclear-Free Zone and the Ban-the-Bomb resolutions commenced in the Political and Security Committee on November 8 and continued until November 14. The first of these resolutions called on the nuclear powers not to station or test nuclear

weapons in Africa and to respect Africa as a denuclearized zone. The second resolution condemned the use of nuclear weapons as contrary to the U.N. Charter and asked the U.N. Secretary-General to consult member states about the possibility of calling a conference to draft a convention outlawing the use of nuclear weapons. Ambassador Arthur H. Dean, in explaining the reasons the United States could not support the Africa-Nuclear-Free Zone resolution reminded the Committee that the United States ". . . stands ready immediately to sign an effective treaty, with international controls, to ban all further nuclear weapons testing, not merely in Africa but all over the world." He went on to say that the United States could not support an uninspected and unverified moratorium on testing. Concluding his remarks he stated, "It is the position of my Government that once the African states themselves have arrived at regional agreements or regional arrangements, it would be appropriate for the United Nations to request that all of its members observe and cooperate in the fulfillment of such arrangements." He further pointed out that the United States did not believe it appropriate for the United Nations to initiate recommendations to particular countries or to particular areas for disarmament measures limited to only one part of the world, particularly by means of uncontrolled declarations, when it was the basic purpose of the United Nations to bring about general and complete disarmament in all areas of the world. On November 8 the Soviet Representative supported both the nuclear-free zone resolution and the resolution banning nuclear weapons stating, "it is indubitable that their adoption and their implementation would be a very valuable contribution not only to the consolidation of peace on the African continent, but also to the creation of a sounder international climate."

On November 9 Italy submitted amendments to the Ban-the-Bomb resolution. The Italian amendments condemned only use of nuclear weapons in violation of the U.N. Charter, whereas the original resolution condemned their use for any purpose whatever. The amendments were designed to bring the resolution into conformity with the U.N. Charter, which does not single out any particular weapon but which condemns aggression however committed.

On November 10 the U.S. Representative in a speech in the Political and Security Committee supported the Italian amendments, stating that the United States was opposed to all forms of force which are employed contrary to the Charter of the United Nations. This problem, he observed, "can be solved only by an overall disarmament agreement which will secure the replacement of the use of armed force by adequate peacekeeping machinery under the rule of law." He stated further that the United States would oppose the resolution condemning

the use of nuclear weapons in its unamended form and would abstain on the Africa-Nuclear-Free Zone draft resolution.

On November 14 the Africa-Nuclear-Free Zone draft resolution was adopted by the Committee by a vote of 57 to 0, with 42 (U.S.) abstentions and subsequently by the General Assembly on November 24 by a vote of 55 to 0, with 45 (U.S.) abstentions. The Italian amendments to the draft resolution condemning the use of nuclear weapons were rejected in Committee and the resolution was adopted by a vote of 60 to 16 (Australia, Belgium, China, France, Greece, Guatemala, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, South Africa, Turkey, U.K., U.S.), with 25 (Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Israel, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Uruguay, Venezuela) absentions. It was adopted by the General Assembly on November 24 by a vote of 55 to 20 (the 16 in Committee plus Canada, Costa Rica, Portugal, and Spain), with 26 (Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Israel, Norway, Malaya, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, Uruguay, Venezuela) abstentions. This action terminated the debate on nuclear tests and related items.

Question of Disarmament

On September 27, 1961, the General Assembly considered the report of the General Committee which recommended that the item "Question of Disarmament" be allocated to the Political and Security Committee. A Soviet proposal to amend the report to allocate this question to the plenary meeting of the General Assembly following the general debate was rejected by the General Assembly, and the recommendation of the General Committee was approved. Debate on the "Question of Disarmament" commenced on November 15, 1961.

The Representative of the Soviet Union, Ambassador Zorin, opened the debate with a speech in which he alleged that "it has been precisely the United States and its allies in the military blocs which have led things in the direction of war. It would seem," he stated, "that if the Western Powers and their Governments had been genuinely interested in the maintenance and strengthening of peace, as they profess to be, they should grasp at the peace-loving proposals of the Soviet Union with both hands; they should sit down at the round negotiating table with us and reach agreement on the text of a German peace treaty without stalling and then sign that treaty." He accused the United States and its allies of intensifying preparations for hand-

ing nuclear weapons over to the German Federal Republic. Turning to the subject of disarmament, the Soviet Representative stated "But never has the necessity been more acute for a practical solution of the problem so that the danger of war may really be eliminated. This, however, can now be achieved only on the basis of general and complete disarmament." Accusing the Western Allies of actions leading toward nuclear war, he alleged that "the United States, Britain, France, and other States, members of Western military blocs, sabotaged unceasingly the solution of the disarmament problem, even after the adoption of the resolution of the Fourteenth Session of the General Assembly." Continuing, he stated that agreement on basic principles on general and complete disarmament between the United States and the Soviet Union was a tangible step forward and could be the basis of disarmament negotiations. He reiterated the view that neutral countries should participate in disarmament negotiations and that "control over armaments" was not acceptable to the Soviets—that this would amount to a legalized intelligence system. He was critical of the new U.S. disarmament proposals presented to the General Assembly by the President of the United States on September 25 and reiterated the well-known views of his Government on various aspects of disarmament. Near the conclusion of his speech, however, the Soviet Representative handed the U.S. delegation a proposed draft resolution welcoming the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles and setting up a 15-Power Disarmament Committee which he proposed be introduced jointly by the United States and the Soviet Union.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, in reply to Soviet accusations, agreed with the Soviet Representative "that this subject of disarmament is the most important question before this Committee and, indeed, before this General Assembly. I only wish that his misleading and frequently abusive speech had produced something new and some encouragement for real disarmament. I earnestly hope that an examination of the draft resolution which he has presented to me just now will give us some greater hopes than the speech portends." It is clear, he continued, that "the Berlin problem is one created by the Soviet Union for its own purposes." Turning to disarmament and referring to the Ten Nation Disarmament Committee talks in June 1960, he stated "The United States and the United Kingdom were prepared to sign a comprehensive treaty at once—and they still are." He deplored the Soviet breaking of the moratorium on nuclear testing culminating in the test of a 50-megaton super-bomb. Emphasizing that "the U.S. emphatically embraces the commitment to general and complete disarmament," the U.S. Representative, recalling President Kennedy's speech before the General

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Assembly on September 25, 1961, stated "He also outlined my Government's conception of what is needed to create a world without war. It is a view which embraces first steps, subsequent steps, and the ultimate goal at the end of the road. And it goes far beyond the technical steps in arms reduction. It requires the reservation of outer space for peaceful purposes. It includes international programs for economic and social progress. And it insists especially upon the essential need to build up the machinery of peace while we tear down the machinery of war—that these must go hand in hand—that these, indeed, must be but two parts of a single program." It seemed clear to the U.S. Representative "that the only way to general and complete disarmament lies along two parallel paths which must be travelled together. One leads to the absence of arms; the other to the presence of adequate machinery for keeping the peace. As we destroy an obsolete institution for the settlement of disputes we must create new institutions for the settlement of disputes—and simultaneously."

The U.S. Representative emphasized the U.S. position on verification of disarmament measures. "At one point, and one point alone," he said, "the United States is, and will remain, inflexible—and this is the familiar question of verification—on the indispensable need for the world to know that disarmament agreements are, in fact, being kept." With reference to the disagreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on inspection, he pointed out that ". . . in his reply [to Mr. McCloy] Mr. Zorin insisted that such control, that is control over the armed forces and armaments retained by States at any given stage of disarmament, would turn into what he called an international system of recognized espionage. If it is the position of the Soviet Union that verification of agreed levels of armaments retained by States under a disarmament plan is espionage," the U.S. Representative said, "then clearly there can be no general and complete disarmament agreement, for armaments destroyed are of less concern to us than armaments retained. It is the latter and not the former which States attacked in war would have to fear. No matter how many weapons were destroyed it would be the weapons which were not destroyed and which were left that would be utilized in a military operation. This is a stumbling block which could be crucial to our deliberations. Unless we can get a clear and satisfactory agreement on this particular point, it is difficult to envisage very substantial progress in disarmament negotiations."

On the question of a negotiating forum the U.S. Representative pointed out that the United States had suggested four possible solutions, but to no avail, and that "The latest Soviet proposal for altering the forum into three 'groups' is all too reminiscent of the Soviet view

which is quite extraneous to disarmament and quite unacceptable to many other nations—the view that the world can be neatly divided into three so-called 'blocs.'" We recognize, he continued, "that the world outside the old Ten-Nation Committee is much larger, much more populous than the countries represented in that Committee. Therefore, if we do expand its membership we would be inclined to add additional members to ensure the representation and the advice of the world at large. This is the sense of our proposal to add ten members to the ten-nation committee which was carrying on disarmament negotiations in 1960, on the basis of equitable geographic distribution."

The U.S. Representative then turned to the problem of peacekeeping. He pointed out that we could begin right away to strengthen our machinery for keeping the peace and without hampering our efforts to reach agreement on disarmament. "Every step to improve the machinery of peace," he said, "will make it easier to take the next step in destroying the machinery of war." Referring to the successful efforts of the United Nations in Korea, the Middle East and now the Congo, he found that the United Nations is becoming a stronger instrument for keeping the peace. Our task was to strengthen it further. The lessons drawn from the Congo experience pointed to certain concrete steps which could be taken: (1) member countries should make available to the United Nations an inventory of the forces, equipment, and logistic support they would be prepared to put at the disposal of the United Nations for peace-preserving functions; (2) manuals should be prepared based on recent U.N. experience to assist the United Nations in a program of officer training and to help member countries in training noncommissioned personnel; (3) the U.N. police force should be supplemented by improved machinery for settling disputes before they reach an explosive stage; and (4) the Secretary-General might wish to present his own ideas for expansion and improvement of U.N. machinery for observation, factfinding, conciliation, mediation and adjudication.

In concluding his remarks, he proposed that "this Assembly set the world on the road toward freedom from war" and that the Committee "take the first steps by approving a negotiating forum, by endorsing the Statement of Agreed Principles already worked out by the Soviet Union and the United States, and by recommending that the new forum get on at once with the first business of this dangerous age, which is general and complete disarmament."

Indian Resolution Calling for Resumption of Disarmament Negotiations

On November 20, 1961, India submitted a draft resolution cosponsored by the United Arab Republic and Ghana (1) urging the Gov-

ernments of the United States and the U.S.S.R. to reach agreement on the composition of a negotiating body, which both they and the rest of the world could regard as satisfactory; (2) expressing the hope that such negotiations would be started without delay and lead to an agreed recommendation to the Assembly; and (3) requesting the Governments to report on the results of such negotiations to the Assembly before the conclusion of the sixteenth session. On November 21, 1961, India moved to interrupt the general debate on disarmament in order to reach a vote on the draft resolution. The Committee adopted the motion without objection and thereupon unanimously adopted the draft resolution. It then approved an Indian motion that the adopted draft resolution be referred to the General Assembly for priority consideration. The resolution was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly on November 28, 1961.

On November 29 the Political and Security Committee decided to keep the item "Question of Disarmament" on its agenda until a report was received from the United States and the Soviet Union.

Swedish Resolution Calling for an Inquiry Concerning Acceptance of Nuclear Weapons

On November 30, 1961, the Committee adopted a draft resolution submitted on November 17, 1961, by Sweden and seven cosponsors (Austria, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Libya, Sudan, and subsequently, Tunisia and Cambodia) in which the General Assembly

> Taking note of the suggestion that an inquiry be made as to the conditions under which countries not possessing nuclear weapons might be willing to enter into specific undertakings to refrain from manufacturing or otherwise acquiring such weapons and to refuse to receive, in the future, nuclear weapons on behalf of any country;
>
> (1) Requests the Secretary-General to make such an inquiry as soon as possible and to submit a report on its results to the Disarmament Commission not later than April 1, 1962;
>
> (2) Requests the Disarmament Commission to take such further measures as appear to be warranted in the light of this report;
>
> (3) Calls upon the nuclear powers to extend their fullest cooperation and assistance with regard to the implementation of the present resolution.

On November 30, in explaining why the United States would vote against the resolution, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, stated, "We appreciate the sincerity of the intentions of the sponsors of this draft resolution; we are aware of the objectives they wish to attain. Certainly all men of good will would share these intentions. It does not seem to my delegation, however, that the draft resolution we are discussing represents the best approach to this subject. With all respect, we would suggest to the sponsors of that draft resolution that its subject matter touches the very center

of defensive arrangements in the crisis-ridden world of today. False steps in this area, or harmful restrictions on the peaceful ability of peaceful States to protect themselves against aggression would only injure the cause of peace and security and make real progress towards genuine disarmament impossible."

Concluding his remarks he stated, "It seems to us that this draft resolution, in its reference to the disposition of nuclear weapons, calls into question the right of free nations to join together in collective self-defense, including the right of self-defense with nuclear weapons if need be."

The vote in Committee was 57 to 12 (Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, U.K., U.S.), with 32 abstentions. The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on December 4, 1961, by a vote of 58 to 10, with 23 abstentions.

Joint U.S.–U.S.S.R. Resolution Calling for Resumption of Disarmament Negotiations

On December 13, 1961, the Political and Security Committee resumed consideration of the disarmament item. The United States and the Soviet Union, having reached agreement on the composition of a forum, submitted a joint draft resolution in which the General Assembly (1) welcomed the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles (see p. 21) for disarmament negotiations; (2) recommended that negotiations on general and complete disarmament be based upon those principles; (3) endorsed the agreement reached on the composition of a Disarmament Committee, whose membership would be: Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, France, India, Italy, Mexico, Nigeria, Poland, Rumania, Sweden, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., U.K., U.S.; (4) recommended that the Committee, as a matter of the utmost urgency, undertake negotiations with a view to reaching, on the basis of the Joint Statement of Agreed Principles and taking into account, *inter alia*, paragraph 8 of those principles, agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control; (5) requested that the Disarmament Committee submit to the General Assembly a report on such agreement as soon as it had been reached and in any case submit to the Disarmament Commission not later than June 1, 1962, a report on the progress achieved; and (6) requested the Secretary-General to render necessary services to the Committee. On the motion of the Representative of Mexico the resolution was adopted unanimously and by acclamation on December 13, 1961. It was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on December 20, 1961.

The Prevention of the Wider Dissemination of Nuclear Weapons: Irish Resolution

On November 17, 1961, Ireland submitted a draft resolution on the prevention of the wider dissemination of nuclear weapons. According to this draft resolution as revised November 29, the General Assembly: "(1) calls on all States, and in particular on the States at present possessing nuclear weapons, to use their best endeavours to secure the conclusion of an international agreement containing provisions under which the nuclear states would undertake to refrain from relinquishing control of nuclear weapons and from transmitting the information necessary for their manufacture to States not possessing such weapons, and provisions under which States not possessing nuclear weapons would undertake not to manufacture or acquire control of such weapons; (2) urges all States to cooperate to those ends."

Speaking before the Political and Security Committee on November 30, the U.S. Representative, David Popper, stated, "We are concerned over the spread of national nuclear capabilities. . . . For these reasons we have included the prohibition against the transfer of control over nuclear weapons in the United States program for general and complete disarmament, and for these same reasons we intend to support the draft resolution proposed by the delegation of Ireland. . . ."

The resolution was unanimously adopted by the Political and Security Committee on November 30, 1961, and by the General Assembly on December 4, 1961.

United Nations Study of Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament

The Secretary-General, in response to a resolution adopted by the 15th General Assembly, undertook to prepare a study of the economic and social consequences of disarmament in countries with different economic systems and at different stages of economic development. To assist in the conduct of the study, he appointed a group of expert consultants from Czechoslovakia, France, India, Pakistan, Poland, Sudan, U.K., U.S.S.R., U.S., and Venezuela. The Consultative Group, which met in Geneva in the summer of 1961, prepared an outline for the study. This outline was submitted to all member nations of the United Nations with the request that they supply relevant information. The information requested covers such matters as assessment of the resources now serving military demands, the choices of uses for released resources, the general and detailed structural problems of conversion of resources to nonmilitary production and the impact of

disarmament on international economic relations. The Consultative Group also expressed the hope that those governments which bear the major share of the armaments burden would submit an appropriate study of their country, which the Group might then append to its report which ultimately might be included by the Secretary-General in his report.

The U.S. Government complied with the request for information on this subject and expected to submit a country study early in 1962.

OUTER SPACE

During 1961 the United States made a special effort to strengthen the U.N. role with respect to outer space and to encourage the development of international cooperation in outer space matters through the United Nations. It was successful in reactivating the General Assembly's Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space as the focal point for this effort and in securing the unanimous adoption by the General Assembly of a resolution which calls for specific action by the United Nations and certain Specialized Agencies with respect to legal and technical problems and to imminent practical applications of space technology, and which articulates the basic principles of a legal regime for outer space.

Outer Space Committee

For several months the United States continued the bilateral discussions which had been pursued with the Soviet Union throughout 1960 in an effort to bring about the convening of the 24-nation U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. That Committee had been established in December 1959 to study technical and legal matters pertaining to international space cooperation and to make arrangements for an international scientific conference for the exchange of experience in the peaceful uses of outer space. However, the Committee had never met because the U.S.S.R. had insisted on prior agreement on administrative arrangements. In the judgment of the United States such an agreement might have hampered the effective functioning of the Committee.

The item "Report of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space" was on the agenda of the 15th General Assembly, but since the Outer Space Committee had not met and the preliminary United States-U.S.S.R. talks were continuing, the resumed 15th General Assembly on April 21, 1961, decided to defer consideration of the item until its 16th session.

In October 1961, the Soviet Union suggested that debate of the Outer Space item in the 16th General Assembly be postponed indefinitely because the Committee had not met and there was no report to be considered. In light of this position, the United States and other members of the Outer Space Committee decided that there was no purpose in delaying the convening of the Committee any longer in the hope of securing Soviet agreement. The Secretary-General was accordingly requested to convene the Outer Space Committee, which met on November 27. Despite its threats of boycott made to various members of the Space Committee, the U.S.S.R. participated with all other members in the meeting, at which Representatives of Austria, Rumania, and Brazil were elected Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Rapporteur respectively. Statements were made by these officers and 10 other members of the Committee, and a brief report was forwarded to the General Assembly, listing the officers elected and the representatives of states who spoke at the meeting.

United States Space Initiative

In his January 30, 1961, state of the Union message to Congress, President Kennedy stated ". . . this Administration intends to explore promptly all possible areas of cooperation with the Soviet Union and other nations 'to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors'." He then extended an invitation to all nations to join with the United States in developing a weather prediction program and a new communications satellite program.

In his address before the General Assembly on September 25, President Kennedy stated that the United States would recommend adoption of specific proposals ". . . extending the United Nations Charter to the limits of man's exploration in the universe, reserving outer space for peaceful use, prohibiting weapons of mass destruction in space or on celestial bodies, and opening the mysteries and benefits of space to every nation. We shall propose further cooperative efforts between all the nations in weather prediction and eventually in weather control. We shall propose, finally, a global system of communications satellites linking the whole world in telegraph, telephone, radio, and television."

Consideration by the Sixteenth General Assembly

The disarmament aspect of the President's proposals was included in the United States Program for General and Complete Disarmament (circulated in the General Assembly on September 25) which, *inter alia*, called for the prohibition, subject to effective verification, of the orbiting or stationing in outer space of weapons of mass destruction.

The remaining points the President had made with regard to the peaceful uses of outer space were included in a draft resolution which the United States, with the cosponsorship of Australia, Canada and Italy, submitted to the General Assembly on December 2. On December 4 the Political and Security Committee of the General Assembly, taking note of the report of the Outer Space Committee, commenced discussion of the outer space item.

In introducing the draft resolution, the U.S. Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Stevenson, pointed out that "In outer space we start with a clean slate—an area yet unmarred by the accumulated conflicts and prejudices of our earthly past.

"We propose today that the United Nations write on this slate boldly, and in an orderly and a creative way—to narrow the gap between scientific progress and social invention—to offer to all nations, irrespective of the stage of their economy or scientific development, an opportunity to participate in one of the greatest adventures of man's existence. . . . We cannot afford to delay. The space programs of the great powers are well advanced. Our own nation is proceeding with the development of satellite systems for weather forecasting and communications. In the months ahead important decisions will have to be made. If the opportunity for United Nations action is missed, it will be increasingly difficult to fit national space programs into a rational pattern of international cooperation."

The Soviet Representative, Ambassador Zorin, elaborated on the benefits to be derived from the conquest of space, underlined the importance of international cooperation in outer space, and mentioned that an international outer space conference had been proposed in December 1959. The Soviet Representative pressed the Soviet demand for unanimity voting in the Outer Space Committee, but expressed interest in studying the draft space resolution which had been put forth.

In the debate which followed, there was wide expression of interest in the activities of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and in the furtherance of measures of international space cooperation such as those contained in the draft resolution. There was little support for the idea of unanimity voting in the Outer Space Committee, but there was wide endorsement of the view that United States and Soviet cooperation would be of fundamental importance to the Committee's work.

During the week of Political and Security Committee debate on this subject, the U.S. delegation conducted a series of talks with the delegations of the Soviet Union and other states in order to seek their support for the draft Outer Space resolution. As a result of these talks, the United States delegation secured the cosponsorship of all

members of the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, including the Soviet Union, for the draft resolution in a slightly amended form. The draft resolution received the unanimous approval of the Political and Security Committee on December 11 and was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly December 20.

This resolution noted the applicability of international law, including the U.N. Charter, to outer space and celestial bodies. It declared that outer space and celestial bodies are free for exploration and use by all states in conformity with international law and are not subject to national appropriation. It provided that the U.N. Secretary-General should maintain a public registry of launchings of space vehicles into orbit or beyond and should assist the Outer Space Committee in the conduct of its work. The resolution proposed early and comprehensive study of measures to advance the state of atmospheric science and technology, to develop existing weather forecasting capabilities, and to help member states make effective use of such capabilities through regional meteorological centers. In the field of communication satellites, the resolution noted the potential importance of this new capability for the United Nations, recommended that the International Telecommunication Union (see p. 24) examine those aspects of space communication in which international cooperation will be required, and called attention to the need for technical and other assistance for the development of domestic communication systems in less developed countries so that they might make effective use of satellite communications.

Finally, the resolution continued the membership of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and added Chad, Mongolia, Morocco and Sierra Leone in recognition of the increased membership of the United Nations since the Committee was established. The Committee members for 1962 and 1963 are, therefore: Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chad, Czechoslovakia, France, Hungary, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Poland, Rumania, Sierra Leone, Sweden, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic, United Kingdom, and the United States.

The Committee was requested to meet not later than March 31, 1962, to review the activities provided for in this resolution and to undertake the tasks assigned it by the General Assembly when the Committee was originally established in December 1959. It is expected, therefore, that the Committee will undertake: a study of practical and feasible means for giving effect to programs in the peaceful uses of outer space which could appropriately be undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations; an examination of legal problems arising from the exploration and use of outer space; and consideration

of the desirability of convening an international scientific conference under the auspices of the United Nations for the exchange of experience in the peaceful uses of outer space.

UNITED NATIONS SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE

The United Nations Scientific Advisory Committee, first established by the General Assembly in 1954 at its 9th session as the Advisory Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, was originally organized to assist the Secretary-General in preparing for the first international conference on this subject held in Geneva in 1955. By direction of the 10th General Assembly, it performed the same functions with respect to the second such conference, held in Geneva in 1958. At its 13th session in 1958, the General Assembly decided that the Committee—under its present name—should continue in existence "to advise and assist the Secretary-General on all matters relating to the peaceful uses of atomic energy with which the United Nations might be concerned" and should prepare a thorough evaluation of the second Peaceful Uses Conference "in relation to the need, nature, and timing of similar conferences in this field."

The Committee has seven members—Brazil, Canada, France, India, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States. The U.S. Representative on the Committee is Dr. I. I. Rabi, Nobel Prize laureate.

The Committee held three meetings in 1961: in Trombay, India in January; in Rome, Italy in May; and in Geneva, Switzerland in December. These meetings were concerned primarily with consideration of a proposal for a U.N. Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas (see p. 208). The Committee, agreeing on the desirability of a conference of this type and that its guiding theme should be the power of science and technology to accelerate the solution of contemporary problems in the development of less developed areas, discussed the subjects that might be covered at such a conference and considered general organizational questions. At the meeting in December, the Committee agreed to recommend the spring of 1963 as an appropriate time for convocation of the Conference.

Also during 1961, the General Assembly's Special Political Committee reported to the resumed session of the 15th General Assembly that it had no recommendations to make on the subject of a third United Nations International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of

Atomic Energy. The General Assembly on April 21, 1961, took note of this report.

UNITED NATIONS COMMITTEE ON THE EFFECTS OF ATOMIC RADIATION (UNSCEAR)

The U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR) was established by the General Assembly in 1955 at the suggestion of the United States. It has 15 members (Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Japan, Mexico, Sweden, the United Arab Republic, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States). Responsible for studying ionizing radiation and its effects on human health and safety, the Committee submitted its first comprehensive report to the Assembly in 1958 and was requested to continue its useful work. In 1959 the Committee decided to submit a second comprehensive report before or during 1962.

During 1961 the Committee held its 9th session in March in Geneva, Switzerland, and its 10th session in August and September in New York. As in the past the United States was represented on the Committee by Dr. Shields Warren (Professor of Pathology, Harvard University), with Dr. Austin Brues (Director of the Division of Biological and Medical Research of Argonne National Laboratories) as alternate.

At the 9th session, as at the 8th, Dr. Manuel Martinez Baez of Mexico and Dr. Ferdinand Hercik of Czechoslovakia served as chairman and vice-chairman respectively. During the 9th session Dr. Hercik was elected to serve as chairman of the 10th and 11th sessions and Dr. Kempo Tsukamoto (Japan) as vice-chairman, both by unanimous votes. Observers attending the meetings included representatives of the following international organizations: Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO); World Health Organization (WHO); World Meteorological Organization (WMO—9th session only); International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA); and International Labor Organization (ILO). Observers were also present from the following nongovernmental organizations: International Commission on Radiological Protection (ICRP); International Commission on Radiological Units and Measurements (ICRU); and the International Air Transport Association (IATA).

Both sessions were primarily concerned with preparing the Committee's 1962 report. At the 8th session, subgroups had been established to draft technical annexes providing the supporting analysis

for the factual and non-technical presentation that will constitute the main body of the text. During the 9th session, these subgroups—concerned with fundamental biology, somatic effects, genetic effects, and irradiation sources and dosimetry (further subdivided into natural background, environmental contamination, and medical occupational exposure)—discussed the contents of the annexes, considered drafts prepared in the Secretariat, and engaged in further preliminary drafting. Significant progress was made in preparing the annexes dealing with Somatic Effects, Background Radiation, and Medical and Occupational Exposure. The Committee also considered oral presentations and reports contributed by the FAO, WHO, and IAEA.

During its 10th session, the Committee made significant progress on the main text of the report, as well as further progress on the annexes. The Committee also prepared for submission to the 16th session of the General Assembly its annual progress report for 1961 in which it described the work accomplished in its 1961 meetings, summarized the subjects to be covered in its comprehensive report, and stated that it had received 238 reports from states members of the United Nations or members of the Specialized Agencies, from Specialized Agencies, and from the IAEA. (Almost 25 percent of these were contributed by the United States.) The progress report also stated that "The Committee recognizes that the resumption of nuclear test explosions since the publication of its last comprehensive report [a reference to the Soviet series of atmospheric tests initiated on September 1, 1961] increases the urgency for intensification of relevant scientific studies."

General Assembly consideration of the Committee's progress report opened in the Special Political Committee on October 16, 1961. The Committee had before it two draft resolutions, one submitted by Czechoslovakia, the other by the following 25 powers: Argentina, Austria, Bolivia, Brazil, Cameroun, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Ecuador, Malaya, Ghana, Guatemala, Iran, Ireland, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Spain, Tunisia, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

The Czech draft resolution reaffirmed the Assembly's conviction that UNSCEAR's work was useful and necessary, noted with satisfaction that it had continued to carry out its work and was receiving the support of member states, Specialized Agencies, and individual scientists, and took note of the Committee's annual report and of the fact that it would submit a comprehensive report on its work to the 17th session of the General Assembly.

The 25-power draft resolution consisted of two parts. Part I expressed the Assembly's deep concern over sharp increases in levels of radioactive fallout as a result of renewed discharge into the earth's

environment of radioactive debris and its fear that prolonged exposure of mankind to increasing levels of radioactive fallout would be a growing threat to the present and future generations, recognized the great importance of UNSCEAR's contribution to the study of this hazard, and declared that all states have a responsibility concerning activities that might have harmful biological consequences by increasing levels of radioactive fallout. It went on to approve UNSCEAR's progress report (drawing particular attention to its view on the increased urgency for relevant scientific studies), to express appreciation for the information submitted to the Committee by member states and international organizations, and to call for continued international cooperation and interchange of data. Part I concluded by requesting UNSCEAR to examine the possibility of accelerating its second comprehensive report and to consider whether the facts at its disposal called for the submission of an interim report. Part II of the 25-power draft resolution invited the WMO, in consultation with the IAEA and UNSCEAR, to examine the feasibility of extending the existing meteorological reporting system to include measurements of atmospheric radioactivity to be made at a worldwide network of stations with arrangements for day-to-day exchange and permanent recording of the information obtained.

Introducing the 25-power resolution in the Committee, the Representative of Canada pointed to the intensification of worldwide concern over the menace of radioactive fallout since the resumption of nuclear weapons testing in the atmosphere. It was imperative, he declared, that under these circumstances the lines of study being carried out by UNSCEAR be given renewed emphasis; the routine treatment given the matter by the Czech resolution, he argued, was inappropriate.

Speaking in support of the 25-power resolution the U.S. Representative, Marguerite Stitt Church, stressed the importance of UNSCEAR's work and commended it for taking new situations into account, without departing from its mandate to collect information on all forms of radiation. With regard to the request to WMO to examine the feasibility of reporting on fallout levels, the U.S. Representative stressed the interest of the United States in insuring, in the implementation of the resolution, that there be no duplication of activities in the field of radiation measurements already being carried out by other organizations or governments. She also expressed the confidence of the United States that the WMO would not engage in any activity that would not produce scientific results commensurate with the expense and effort involved.

Representatives of Czechoslovakia, Indonesia, Iraq, Poland, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the U.S.S.R. spoke in favor

of the Czech draft resolution, criticizing the 25-power draft as having political implications and going beyond the competence of the Special Political Committee. A number of Representatives, including those of Burma, Congo (Léopoldville), Guinea, Lebanon, Sudan, United Arab Republic, and Yugoslavia, stated that they regarded the two draft resolutions as complementary and that their delegations would accordingly vote for both.

On October 19 the Representative of India submitted a number of amendments to the Czech draft resolution, recognizing deep concern over the effects of atomic radiation and the urgency of intensification of relevant scientific studies; expressing the hope that UNSCEAR would be able to submit its report as soon as possible and practicable; and inviting member states, the IAEA, Specialized Agencies, and individual scientists to continue and intensify their cooperation with UNSCEAR. These amendments were accepted by the Czech Representative and incorporated in his delegation's draft resolution.

On October 20, on the motion of the Representative of Canada, the 25-power draft resolution, by a vote of 56 (U.S.) to 15, with 21 abstentions, was given priority over the Czech resolution. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 75 (U.S.) to 0, with 17 abstentions. The Czech resolution, as amended by India, was then adopted by a vote of 33 to 22, with 37 abstentions.

Both resolutions were put to a vote in the General Assembly on October 27, 1961. Once again the 25-power resolution was adopted by a vote of 75 (U.S.) to 0, with 17 abstensions. The Czech resolution, failing to obtain the required two-thirds majority (the vote was 37 to 20, with 37 (U.S.) abstentions), was not adopted.

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

Angola

The press reported that during the night of February 4, 1961, a group of several hundred persons calling themselves Angolan nationalists attacked a Portuguese police station in Luanda, the capital of Angola, and were repulsed with heavy losses on both sides. There were later clashes between the police and civilians during funeral services of some of the attackers. At the same time, native disturbances broke out in the interior area of Malenge in protest against Portuguese agricultural policy. In the course of a Security Council debate on the Congo, the Representative of Liberia, on February 15,

1961, referred to the violence and requested that the problem of Angola be considered immediately. Since the question of Angola was not on the agenda, the President of the Security Council ruled that the request was out of order. However, Representatives of the Soviet Union, the United Arab Republic, and Ceylon stated that the Security Council should take up the question of Angola in the near future.

On February 20, 1961, Liberia formally requested the Security Council to take up the situation in Angola. This request was subsequently endorsed by 34 Afro-Asian U.N. members. The Permanent Representative of Portugal, in a letter of March 7, formally objected to Liberia's request and argued that article 2(7) of the U.N. Charter prevented the Security Council from taking up a matter which Portugal considered to be a purely domestic affair.

Security Council Action, March 1961

The Security Council, with the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, as its President, met to consider Liberia's request on March 10, 1961. After statements were made by Liberia, the United Arab Republic, Ceylon, and the Soviet Union in favor of the adoption of the agenda, the item was inscribed on the Security Council's agenda without objection. The Representative of Portugal contended that not only did the Security Council lack jurisdiction under article 2(7) of the Charter, but that the disorders in Angola were the work of outside forces, including Communists. On March 14, 1961, a draft resolution was submitted by Ceylon, Liberia, and the United Arab Republic which would have (1) called upon Portugal to consider urgently the introduction of measures and reforms in Angola for the purpose of permitting the Angolan people to exercise the right of self-determination, and (2) established a U.N. subcommittee to report on conditions in Angola.

The U.S. Representative in explaining the position of the United States said, "The United States would be remiss in its duties as a friend of Portugal if it failed to express honestly its conviction that step-by-step planning within Portuguese territories and its acceleration is now imperative for the successful political, social and economic advancement of all inhabitants under Portuguese administration—advancement, in brief, toward full self-determination." The U.S. Representative made it clear that the U.S. position was based on the traditional American belief that governments derived their just powers from the consent of the governed.

The draft resolution failed of adoption by a vote of 5 (Ceylon, Liberia, United Arab Republic, U.S.S.R., U.S.) to 0, with 6 (Chile, China, Ecuador, France, Turkey, United Kingdom) abstentions.

Subsequently, in response to erroneous press reports to the effect that the U.S. position in the Security Council had been hasty or ill-considered, the press officer of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations stated on March 17: "The United States decision to vote for the resolution was made only after thorough consultation between Governor Stevenson and officers of the Department and after approval by the Secretary of State and the President. The policy decisions behind the vote which were all reflected in Governor Stevenson's speech before the Security Council, had been carefully considered. Our allies were informed in advance. We have a deep and continuing common interest with them. The difficulty and complexity of African questions are, however, such that there are and may continue to be differences in approach on some of them."

Action at the Resumed Session of the Fifteenth General Assembly

Shortly after the Security Council failed to adopt the Afro-Asian resolution on March 15, widespread disorders broke out in northern Angola in which groups of Africans attacked Portuguese villages and plantations. Although reports were fragmentary, widespread loss of life and extreme brutality were reported to have occurred. On March 20, 1961, in accordance with a request of 40 Afro-Asian members at the resumed session of the 15th General Assembly, an item concerning the situation in Angola was inscribed in the General Assembly's agenda and assigned directly to the General Assembly plenary meeting. After debating the item at three meetings and hearing 28 speakers, the General Assembly on April 20, 1961, adopted the resolution that earlier had failed of adoption in the Security Council. The vote was 73 (U.S.) to 2 (Spain, Union of South Africa), with 9 (Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Netherlands, Thailand, United Kingdom) abstentions. The speech of the U.S. Representative in the General Assembly, as in the Security Council, urged Portugal to implement reforms looking toward self-determination and to cooperate with the United Nations. The President of the General Assembly subsequently appointed a Subcommittee on Angola composed of Bolivia, Dahomey, Finland, Malaya, and the Sudan.

Renewed Security Council Action, June 1961

Between March and May of 1961, reports came out of Angola and from neighboring African states concerning the continuing fighting in northern Angola. Reportedly rebel attacks of increasing intensity were being met by equally forceful countermeasures of reinforced Portuguese military garrisons and of settlers. On

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May 31, 1961, 43 Afro-Asian U.N. members and Yugoslavia requested a meeting of the Security Council to consider "the situation in Angola." Ceylon, Liberia, and the United Arab Republic, on June 6, introduced a draft resolution which deplored the killings and "the severely repressive measures" in Angola. The draft resolution also found that the situation was an actual threat to international peace and security. The operative paragraphs, in essence, called for cooperation with the Subcommittee and for a speeding up of the Committee's work.

Chile, on June 9, submitted amendments to the Afro-Asian resolution which would replace the finding that the situation in Angola was an actual threat to peace and security with the phrase "likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security" and would add an operative paragraph which expressed the hope that a peaceful solution would be found in accordance with the Charter. The U.S.S.R. introduced an amendment which would have added a paragraph condemning Portugal. Chile's amendments were adopted by a vote of 9 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 (France, U.S.S.R.) abstentions. The Soviet Union's amendment failed of adoption by a vote of 4 (Ceylon, Liberia, U.A.R., U.S.S.R.) to 3 (Turkey, U.K., U.S.), with 4 (Chile, China, Ecuador, France) abstentions. The amended resolution was adopted by a vote of 9 to 0, with 2 (France, United Kingdom) abstentions.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, on June 9, deplored the continuing violence and called attention to Premier Salazar's May 31 press interview in which the latter announced his intention to introduce political, economic, and social reforms in Portugal's overseas territories. The U.S. Representative regarded the interview as an encouraging development and hoped that concrete steps would be taken by the Portuguese Government in the immediate future.

Subsequently, the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Angola, Ambassador Salamanca of Bolivia, in a letter to the Permanent Representative of Portugal, requested Portugal's cooperation with the Subcommittee. On June 20, 1961, while maintaining its position concerning the competence of the United Nations under article 2(7) of the Charter, Portugal invited Ambassador Salamanca to visit Lisbon. Having accepted the invitation on June 26, 1961, Ambassador Salamanca visited Lisbon from July 16 to 22, 1961. While in Portugal, he was provided with certain information. However, the Subcommittee's request that it be permitted to visit Angola was refused.

Consideration by the Sixteenth General Assembly

In the provisional agenda for the 16th General Assembly, the Secretary-General included an item entitled "The Situation in Angola: Re-

port of the Subcommittee Established by General Assembly Resolution 1603 (XV)." When the General Committee considered the inscription and allocation of the item, on September 22, 1961, the Representative of the Sudan proposed that the item be discussed, not in the Political and Security Committee as suggested by the Secretary-General, but in the General Assembly plenary meeting. The Sudanese proposal was subsequently adopted without formal vote.

On November 22, 1961, the report of the Subcommittee on the situation in Angola was circulated to U.N. members. Among other things, the Subcommittee found that Portugal's policy frustrated the desire of the Angolan people for self-determination. According to the report, this, coupled with economic and social privation, caused the Angolan rebellion. The Committee found that Portugal had utilized harsh and repressive measures in suppressing the revolt. It also noted the reforms which the Portuguese Government had announced that it was initiating in Angola. Although the Subcommittee refrained from making any judgment on the announced reforms, it did note "that they would seem to reflect some awareness by the Government of Portugal of the need to adjust its policy to the reality of the situation and the opinion of the international community." The Subcommittee expressed its belief that the best hope for a solution lay in Portuguese cooperation with the United Nations and noted "that rapid measures by Portugal can still preserve the positive elements of past policies and achievements."

Because of the pressure of other items, the General Assembly was unable to consider Angola prior to its December 21 recess and it decided to defer debate on this question until its resumed session in January 1962.

Colonial Items

Africa: a U.N. Program for Independence and Development

Consideration by the Resumed Session of the Fifteenth General Assembly

By a letter dated September 28, 1960, the United States requested inclusion of the item entitled "Africa: a United Nations Program for Independence and Development" on the agenda of the 15th session of the General Assembly.

The item was allocated to the Political and Security Committee but was not considered prior to adjournment. It was considered at the resumed session of the 15th General Assembly in 10 meetings of the Political and Security Committee between March 23 and April 21, 1961.

The item on Africa had its origin in a five-point program for assistance to the new countries of Africa advanced by President Eisenhower in his address to the General Assembly on September 22, 1960. The explanatory memorandum stated:

The challenges of peace and orderly progress in freedom can best be met by the combined efforts of the world community operating through the United Nations. The United States has already made substantial direct contributions to the development of new countries and will continue to do so, but the efforts of any one country or group of countries are insufficient to raise all the funds, provide all the skills and assure the complete impartiality of action required by the new nations. . . . The new African States which have become Members of the United Nations at this session as well as the others who will be admitted later this year and in 1961 have the right to choose their own way of life and to determine for themselves the course they wish to follow. The United States believes that all Member States should pledge themselves to refrain from intervening in the internal affairs of these nations, to refrain from generating disputes between them and to desist from all actions designed to intensify or exploit present unsettled conditions in the Congo.

On March 23, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, stated in the Political and Security Committee:

It is not my purpose here today to advance a detailed, rigid program. It is, rather, for the Africans themselves to determine the content of such a program. I am certain that the African members of this committee, out of their actual experience, will have much to offer in sound ideas and in new thinking. This committee should listen carefully to what they have to say, and it is our hope that its discussions will lead to an African initiative.

It is also our hope that the various African nations, individually and jointly, will want to assume the responsibility for developing a long-range program for their continent so that it will be clear to all of the world that it is by, of, and for Africa. Only the Africans can develop Africa in the last analysis. . . . When their plans have been made and their programs developed, the African states will be in a strong position, we believe, to call on the United Nations and related agencies to extend technical and economic assistance on an expanded scale to help them carry out these plans.

As a result of the U.S. speech, further discussion in the Committee, and informal consideration and consultation outside the Committee, 25 African states submitted a draft resolution on April 11, which was revised on April 12 and April 21, 1961. The key passages of the revised draft resolution read as follows:

Recognizes that the question of the achievement of the objectives of resolution 1514 (XV) including the matter of target dates, [see pp. 55, 57] is a subject of urgency and refers it to the Fourth Committee for consideration;

Specially urges the economically advanced countries to increase financial and technical assistance to African countries through multilateral channels and within the framework of the Economic Commission for Africa, with no conditions attached prejudicial to their political and economic sovereignty;

Believes that the Economic Commission for Africa should play an important role not only in the provision of advisory services to requesting African States but also in the co-ordination of economic and technical assistance rendered to Africa;

Welcomes the convening by UNESCO, in collaboration with the Economic Commission for Africa and the Specialized Agencies, of a conference on Education in relation to the Economic Development of Africa to be held in Addis Ababa in May 1961, and requests that the recommendations and plans formulated by this conference be communicated to the Economic and Social Council at its thirty-second session;

Recognizes the necessity that studies and measures relating to trade in primary commodities now under consideration or contemplated by CICT [Commission on International Commodity Trade] and other bodies, including the new Committee on African Trade, established by the Economic Commission for Africa by its Resolution 28 (III), should lead to action to alleviate the problems of underdeveloped countries with respect to their trade in primary commodities.

The Political and Security Committee did not vote on this draft resolution but decided, on April 21, to recommend to the General Assembly that consideration of the item be adjourned to the 16th session of the Assembly. This recommendation was adopted in plenary meeting without objection.

Consideration at Sixteenth General Assembly

At the 16th General Assembly the item was considered partly in the Assembly's plenary meeting and partly in the Assembly's Economic and Social Committees. That part of the item which dealt with target dates was considered in the plenary meeting, rather than in the Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories (Fourth) Committee as had been recommended in the 25-power draft resolution. Since this question was considered in the plenary meeting along with the Soviet item on Colonialism it is discussed in this report under the chapter on Implementation of the Declaration on Colonialism. The remainder of the questions raised by the 25-power draft resolution were dealt with in the Economic and Social Committees.

Implementation of the Declaration on Colonialism

On August 28, 1961, the Soviet Union requested the inscription of an item on the agenda of the 16th General Assembly titled "The Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People." In its explanatory memorandum the Soviet Union claimed that "the colonial powers' efforts to frustrate the United Nations Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples are a challenge to the United Nations and create a threat to world peace and security. The Soviet Government, firmly convinced that the United Nations cannot remain inactive in the face of the intolerable situation that has arisen with regard to the complete and final liquidation of colonialism, is submitting to the General Assembly, for consideration at its Sixteenth Session, the question of the situation with regard to

the implementation of the 'Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.'"

On September 26, 1961, the Soviet Union distributed as a U.N. document a memorandum on colonialism explaining its position. This document accused the United States of being an "accomplice in all the bloody atrocities perpetuated by the other colonial powers in their colonies. . . . The whole system of aggressive military blocs—NATO, CENTO, and SEATO—which are led by the United States, has been placed at the service of colonialism." The United States was accused directly of being a colonial power. Puerto Rico and the Pacific Islands Trust Territory were examples cited.

President Kennedy in his address to the General Assembly on September 25, explained the basic United States position on colonialism. The President stated:

> On the one hand is the fact that, since the close of World War II, a worldwide declaration of independence has transformed nearly one billion people and nine million square miles into forty-two free and independent states. Less than two percent of the world's population now lives in "dependent" territories.
>
> I do not ignore the remaining problems of traditional colonialism which still confront this body. Those problems will be solved, with patience, good will and determination. Within the limits of our responsibility in such matters, my Country intends to be a participant and not merely an observer, in the peaceful, expeditious movement of nations from the status of colonies to the partnership of equals. That continuing tide of self-determination, which runs so strong, has our sympathy and our support.
>
> But colonialism in its harshest forms is not only the exploitation of new nations by old, of dark skins by light—or the subjugation of the poor by the rich. My nation was once a colony—and we know what colonialism means; the exploitation and subjugation of the weak by the powerful, of the many by the few, of the governed who have given no consent to be governed, whatever their continent, their class or their color.
>
> And that is why there is no ignoring the fact that the tide of self-determination has not yet reached the communist empire where a population far larger than that officially termed "dependent" lives under governments installed by foreign troops instead of free institutions—under a system which knows only one party and one belief—which suppresses free debate, free elections, free newspapers, free books and free trade unions—and which builds a wall to keep truth a stranger and its own citizens prisoners. Let us debate colonialism in full—and apply the principle of free choice and the practice of free plebiscites in every corner of the globe.

On November 6 the General Assembly began discussion of the colonial item submitted by the Soviet Union. The Representative of Nigeria stated that since the colonial problems of Africa were different from the rest of the colonial question he would request that the Assembly give precedence to the United States item dealing with a U.N. program for African independence and development which had been carried over from the resumed session of the 15th General Assembly. The Representative of Ghana requested that the Assembly postpone

its decision on the Nigerian request. The next day, the Representative of the Malagasy Republic, speaking on behalf of 27 African countries, including Nigeria, requested that the Assembly take up the Soviet and the American items simultaneously. The Assembly approved this suggestion without objection.

The Representative from Nigeria had already, on October 17, introduced a draft resolution in connection with the United States African item which dealt exclusively with the question of African independence. The draft resolution called for the complete independence of all African territories by December 1970, and requested all states to "insulate the African continent from the political and ideological and economic rivalries of Great Powers." The resolution was subordinated to the more general discussion of colonialism by most of the other delegations and was eventually withdrawn by Nigeria, with the understanding that the item would be discussed again at the next session of the General Assembly. There were no other resolutions introduced under the U.S. item.

Debate on the colonialism item was highlighted by Soviet efforts to seize the initiative and, capitalizing on the strong anti-colonialist sentiment prevailing among the African and Asian delegations, turn the debate into an Afro-Asian attack on the West with the Soviets posing as the champions of freedom. The African and Asian states refused to be deterred from the course which they had set for themselves and the debate was conducted with more balance and moderation and less heat than in the past.

An example of the general tone of the debate is the following Ethiopian statement: "The march of history has, at long last, caught up with colonialism and is leading it to a place of no return. However, we should not delude ourselves, the end of colonialism could be unnecessarily retarded if we were to indulge in complacency, accompanied by apathy. . . . We would therefore be well advised to redouble our efforts and to harmonize our actions to put an expeditious end to colonialism and imperialism in all its manifestations."

On November 7 the Soviet Representative introduced a draft resolution. This resolution called for the "unconditional liquidation" of colonialism not later than the end of 1962 and the creation, "on the basis of the equal representation of the main groups of states" (i.e., the "troika" principle), of a U.N. Commission to oversee the "liquidation." The resolution was eventually withdrawn without being put to a vote when the Soviet delegation was unable to muster any appreciable support among the other delegations.

The U.S. Representative, Jonathan B. Bingham, exercising his right of reply, stated that: "the Soviet representative attacks the economic ties—the mutually beneficial economic ties—that exist among

the States of the free world. Why? Obviously, because it is his objective to weaken those ties, to weaken them so as to make it easier for the Soviet Union and its satellites to penetrate and take over the economic sinews of the world."

As to the Soviet Representative's professed belief in freedom, the U.S. Representative stated that he was glad "to hear him call for such principles as the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press, free elections with universal adult suffrage. I trust that these ringing declarations, which we wholly support, will shortly be put into practice in those parts of the world that are today under the domination of the Soviet Union."

On November 20 the Representative of India introduced a draft resolution sponsored by 38 African and Asian delegations. Operative paragraphs three and four of this draft resolution stated: "The General Assembly . . . 3. Decides to establish a Special Committee of seventeen members to be nominated by the President of the General Assembly at the current session; 4. Requests the Special Committee to examine the application of the Declaration contained in General Assembly resolution 1514(XV) [the Colonial Declaration adopted by the 15th General Assembly], to make suggestions and recommendations on the progress and extent of the implementation of the Declaration, and to report to the General Assembly at its seventeenth session;"

On November 22 the U.S. Representative presented the American position that the United Nations should differentiate between those countries who were cooperating with the United Nations with regard to terminating colonialism and those who were not. He stated that "toward the governments which, unfortunately, have been slow and unwilling to accept their responsibilities under the Charter, we believe the right course is to appoint special committees to investigate the situation in the area, to consult with and persuade the governing powers, to keep the General Assembly informed, to make specific recommendations, and to maintain on each of these situations the clearly focused judgment of world opinion. We are confident that this method will yield results in due time—though not as soon as many of us would wish."

He also reminded the Assembly that there was more than one source of present day colonialism. He stated that "a great many people, not only in my country, but in many parts of the world, understandably ask: What about the 200 million alien people whom the Soviet Union has subjugated since 1945? Haven't they also the right, in the words of the historic Colonial Declaration (Resolution 1514), to 'freely determine their political status' and to 'enjoy complete independence and freedom'? Is this subjugation not also a virulent form of colonialism, or, if you prefer, 'imperialism'?"

The same day the Soviet Representative withdrew the Soviet draft resolution and introduced an amendment to the Afro-Asian draft resolution which would have incorporated the 1962 "target date" for the end of colonialism in the Afro-Asian resolution.

On November 24 the Representative of Mexico tabled a draft resolution that introduced two new points: (1) an investigation into the possibility of a temporary joint United Nations administration of the remaining colonial areas, and (2) a request that "all States parties to any international dispute concerning the title to sovereignty over a particular territory to submit their differences to the International Court of Justice, in order to find a peaceful and just solution of those differences, or to solve them by other peaceful means provided for in Article 33 of the Charter, so that a final and irrevocable solution to the dispute may be found." The Representative of Mexico, acquiescing in the requests of several representatives, did not press his draft resolution to a vote, but retained the "right to submit it at a future occasion for consideration by this Assembly."

On November 25, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, circulated as a U.N. document a detailed reply to the Soviet memorandum circulated on September 25. This document focused attention on the Soviet record of suppression of freedoms and subjugation of peoples. One passage read that:

> . . . the people of the world can forget four fundamental facts only at their own peril:
>
> *First,* the Sino-Soviet bloc today embraces the largest colonial empire which has ever existed in all history.
>
> *Second,* the Communist empire is the only imperial system which is not liquidating itself, as other empires have done, but is still trying energetically to expand in all directions. With the growth of Soviet and Chinese Communist power, these expansionist efforts have now become more blatant and are now being attempted in areas outside the periphery of the bloc.
>
> *Third,* the Soviet colonial system is one of the most cruel and oppressive ever devised. By the ruthless and brutal use of techniques of police control, and by the erection of artificial barriers to communication, the regimes of the Sino-Soviet bloc have harshly suppressed all movements in the direction of freedom, have instituted programmes to eradicate all national identity in the people, and have held their peoples in virtual isolation from the outside world.
>
> *Finally,* the Soviet colonial empire is the only modern empire in which no subject people has ever been offered any choice concerning their future and their destiny.

The General Assembly voted on the colonialism item on November 27. The vote on the proposed Soviet amendment (concerning a 1962 target date) to the Afro-Asian draft resolution was 19 (Soviet bloc and Congo (Léopoldville), Cuba, Ghana, Guinea, Iraq, Mali, Morocco, U.A.R., Yugoslavia), to 46 (Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador,

Malaya, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Tunisia, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela) opposed, with 36 (Afghanistan, Austria, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Finland, Gabon, India, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Mauritania, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Upper Volta, and Yemen) abstentions, 1 (Honduras) absent and 1 (Portugal) not participating.

The 38-power Afro-Asian draft resolution was passed in its original form, without amendments. The vote on this resolution was 97 (U.S.) to 0, with 4 (France, South Africa, Spain, U.K.) abstentions, 1 (Honduras) absent, and 1 (Portugal) not participating.

The Congo

By the beginning of 1961 the first fruits of the 6-month-old U.N. Operation in the Congo were apparent. With the assistance of a 20,000-man international force, the United Nations had prevented widespread civil war in the Congo and forestalled a great-power confrontation in the heart of Africa. Through its civilian operations, the United Nations had prevented a total collapse of the economic and financial structure of the Congo. Under the United Nations protective mantle, the Congolese had been able to expel the large number of Soviet technicians who had flooded the country in the first months of independence.

Nevertheless, the Congo situation at the beginning of 1961 remained extremely precarious, with the country still far from stability and unity. The U.N. Conciliation Commission for the Congo which visited the Congo in January described the situation in the following terms: "The country is divided between four warring factions. Civil war has indeed already begun in North Katanga and it threatens to spread into other provinces, and lead to direct foreign military interventions. The economic situation is rapidly worsening and the State treasury is nearly empty. . . . It is no exaggeration to say that the country is on the verge of catastrophe."

The Congo achieved independence on June 30, 1960, after 75 years in a dependent status. However, it soon became clear that the country was not yet able to maintain its independence without outside help from some quarter. In the absence of trained cadres and functioning institutions, stability in the country was dependent entirely on the

continuing loyalty and discipline of the Belgian-officered 28,000-man army.

Five days after independence, the army mutinied, and a total breakdown of law and order ensued. The Belgian Government sent in troops to protect its 100,000 citizens in the Congo. The Katanga authorities took advantage of the situation to proclaim their province an independent country on July 11. It was against this background of chaos, secession and foreign intervention that the Congolese, with U.S. encouragement, appealed to the United Nations for assistance.

United Nations and Congolese Conciliation Efforts

In the last few months of 1960 it was apparent that the primary problem in the Congo was one of national reconciliation. Rival governments in Léopoldville, Elisabethville, Stanleyville, and Bakwanga—each with at least a modicum of international support—vastly complicated the U.N. effort. The secession of mineral-rich Katanga under the leadership of Provincial President Moise Tshombe seriously challenged the authority of the Central Government.

To understand U.N. efforts in 1961, it is necessary to recall previous mandates given to the United Nations by General Assembly and Security Council resolutions in 1960. In an emergency night session, the Security Council on July 14, 1960, adopted a Tunisian resolution calling upon Belgium to withdraw its troops, authorizing the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps, in consultation with the Government of the Republic of the Congo, to provide such military assistance as might be necessary until, "through the efforts of the Congolese Government with the technical assistance of the United Nations, the national security forces may be able, in the opinion of the Government, to meet fully their tasks. . . ." This mandate was subsequently refined and amplified as subsequent events placed new burdens on the United Nations and as the situation in the Congo changed.

On September 21, 1960 the fourth emergency special session of the General Assembly had adopted a resolution which appealed "to all Congolese within the Republic of the Congo to seek a speedy solution by peaceful means of all their internal conflicts for the unity and integrity of the Congo, with the assistance, as appropriate, of Asian and African Representatives appointed by the Advisory Committee on the Congo, in consultation with the Secretary-General, for the purpose of conciliation." This resolution was opposed by the Soviet Union, supported by the United States, and overwhelmingly adopted by the General Assembly.

The Advisory Committee was composed of countries with troops in the Congo (Canada, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia,

Ireland, Liberia, Malaya, Mali, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Senegal, Sudan, Sweden, Tunisia, and United Arab Republic). This Committee subsequently appointed the U.N. Conciliation Commission composed of its African and Asian members. The Commission assembled in Léopoldville on January 3 under its three presiding officers, Jaja Wachuku of Nigeria, Chairman; Mohamed Sopiee of Malaya, Vice-Chairman; and Ato Andom Melesse of Ethiopia, Rapporteur. All the African and Asian Representatives on the Advisory Committee, with the exception of Guinea, Indonesia, Mali, and the United Arab Republic, participated in the mission.

According to the terms of reference prepared by the Advisory Committee, the Commission was to study the situation, such study to cover the entire territory of the Congo, and to direct its efforts, without interference in the internal affairs of the Congo, toward the attainment by the Congolese of solutions of present difficulties in the Congo which would be conducive to the maintenance and strengthening of the unity, territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of the Congo, within the framework of the constitutional and legal structure of the Republic of the Congo and of the resolution of the emergency special session of the General Assembly. In particular, the Commission was to endeavor to assist in decisions being reached with a view to speedy restoration of parliamentary institutions in the Republic of the Congo. In accordance with this mandate, the Commission spent most of January and February 1961 in the Congo, talking to all major political leaders except Katanga Provincial President Moise Tshombe and Stanleyville leader, Antoine Gizenga (who declined to cooperate), and issued its report on March 10.

The following conclusions of the Commission's report were fully endorsed by the United States and by the great majority of United Nations members:

1. With regard to the Congolese constitution the Commission recognized the shortcomings of the Fundamental Law (*Loi Fondamentale*), but recommended that until it could be amended, or replaced by a new constitution, and in the absence of any other basic law in the Congo, it was desirable that the Fundamental Law should be upheld as the basic law of the Republic.

2. The Commission urged upon the President of the Republic of the Congo, Mr. Kasavubu, and Prime Minister Ileo the urgency of establishing a fully constitutional government, the present regime being without parliamentary sanction as called for in the constitution.

3. The Commission feared that the fighting in north Katanga between Katanga Provincial President Tshombe's troops and the Baluba tribe which opposed him, would spread to the border areas between Kasai, Equateur, and Orientale Provinces where troops of Gen-

eral Mobutu (Congolese National Army (ANC)-Léopoldville) and General Lundula (Stanleyville forces) faced one another. It feared that if such situations were not checked at the outset they "could well degenerate into warfare of the most uninhibited kind between different tribes all over the Congo."

4. The Commission was "firmly convinced" that until the various armed groups in the Congo were insulated from politics and reorganized, normal political and constitutional functioning could not be restored nor a lasting settlement achieved. It noted that these various armed groups, undisciplined members of which might at any moment break loose from their command and terrorize the population, constituted a constant threat to law and order.

5. Until the reorganization of the Congolese National Army (ANC) could be achieved, the Commission believed that the U.N. Force should continue to assist the Congolese authorities in the maintenance of law and order and noted that, in order to carry out "its increased responsibilities, the U.N. Force will have to be strengthened to a considerable extent, both in men and modern equipment."

6. The Commission called for a "representative meeting of the principal Congolese leaders" to discuss "a federal form of government," which it maintained under the then prevailing circumstances could "alone preserve the national unity and territorial integrity of the Congolese State."

7. Finally, the Commission called attention to the urgent need to put to an end all foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Congo. "Foreign interference of all kinds, whether open or secret, and more especially when it takes the form of providing arms, ammunition and military personnel to one or the other of the contending factions, exercises a most baneful influence on the whole situation; it encourages the various leaders to adopt intransigent attitudes and to shun all attempts at conciliation. . . . The deliberate violations of this injunction, open or secret, are largely responsible for the continuing deterioration of the situation and the drift of the country towards civil war and disintegration. . . . The Commission deplores the continued presence in various parts of the Republic of the Congo of large numbers of Belgian and other foreign military and paramilitary personnel, political advisers, and mercenaries. The Commission feels that immediate steps should be taken to remove forthwith all such personnel not under the United Nations command from the territory of the Republic of the Congo."

The report of the Conciliation Commission thus identified and made recommendations on virtually all of the principal problems that the United Nations would seek to resolve during the year.

Security Council Consideration in January

On January 12, the Security Council met at the request of the Soviet Union to consider Soviet charges of "fresh acts of Belgian aggression against the Congo and the flagrant violation of the international status of the United Nations trust territory of Ruanda-Urundi." The incident referred to by the Soviets was the transit on December 31, 1960, through the Belgian-administered Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi, of a number of ANC troops under the control of Colonel Mobutu. These units arrived in Usumbura by air, transited the Trust Territory by truck, and recrossed the Congo border to attack rebel army units which seized Bukavu and ousted the provincial government. Ceylon, Liberia, and the United Arab Republic introduced a draft resolution calling on Belgium "immediately to cease all action against the Republic of the Congo" and characterizing the "Belgian action" as a "violation of the Trusteeship Agreement" for Ruanda-Urundi. The resolution failed of adoption. In addition to the three sponsors, only the Soviet Union voted for the resolution; the remainder of the Council members, including the United States, abstained.

In the course of the debate, the Representative of the Republic of the Congo denounced the Soviet initiative in bringing the transit of Colonel Mobutu's troops through Ruanda-Urundi to the attention of the Council. "Were it an attack against our country," he said, "we would leave it to no other person to denounce the attack. The only justification for the Soviet maneuver would be the support which the Soviet Union gives Gizenga and the other rebels, as well as the subversion which is being organized with Soviet assistance."

The United States Representative, Ambassador James Barco, spoke in similar vein: "In typical Soviet fashion, an elephant gun has been trained on a mosquito." He conceded that the situation in the Congo had deteriorated since last year, but not for the reasons cited by the Soviet Representative. "It has deteriorated because rebel elements in the Congo, encouraged and assisted from outside, continue to flout the authority of the legitimate Chief of State, President Kasavubu, whose position has been recognized by the vast majority of the United Nations membership. . . . Considering its own role of unilateral intervention contrary to the spirit of the United Nations—and I am afraid the Soviet Union is not alone in this—it is no wonder that the Soviet charge deals only with the Bukavu incident, and ignores the fundamental problem . . . outside intervention in support of rebel elements in order to undermine the legitimate authority of the Chief of State." The U.S. Representative also noted that the Soviet Union continued to seek to paralyze the United Nations by continually attacking the Secretary-General and by refusing to pay its contributions to the United Nations Force in the Congo.

Finally, in defining what the present situation required of all U.N. members, the U.S. Representative pointed out that "All nations should faithfully and fully carry out the spirit and letter of the outstanding United Nations resolutions dealing with the Congo. The Congolese people themselves should be enabled to reconcile their internal differences peacefully. The United Nations Command should redouble its efforts to maintain law and order. If these principles, already repeatedly endorsed by the United Nations, are given the full support of all concerned, we will be able to look toward a significant improvement in this troublesome situation so fraught with danger for the peace of the world."

Deterioration of Congo Situation

Meanwhile, relations between the Congolese and the United Nations, and between the Congolese themselves continued to deteriorate. The Congo also became even more of a divisive issue among the nations of the world.

Between January 3 and 7, a meeting was held by a number of African and Asian states at Casablanca, Morocco, to consider the Congo problem. Representatives of Morocco, the United Arab Republic, Guinea, Mali, the Algerian Provisional Government, Libya, Ceylon, and Ghana participated and adopted a series of resolutions critical of U.N. actions in the Congo. The participants declared it to be the intention of their governments to withdraw their troops and other military personnel from the U.N. Command; reaffirmed their recognition of the "elected Parliament and legally constituted Government of the Republic of the Congo" (by which they meant the Stanleyville-based regime of Antoine Gizenga, who claimed to be the true successor to Patrice Lumumba as Prime Minister of the Congo); urged the United Nations to disarm and disband "the lawless bands of Mobutu," and to reconvene the Parliament. If these demands were not met, the states involved reserved the right to take appropriate measures.

On January 14 President Kasavubu formally requested that Secretary-General Hammarskjold recall Ambassador Rajeshwar Dayal of India as the Special Representative in the Congo on the grounds that the United Nations had been derelict in its duty to maintain order and that steps should be taken to punish those responsible. This request was rejected by the Secretary-General on the following day. Hammarskjold replied that Dayal was not a diplomatic representative accredited to the Government of the Republic of the Congo and therefore could not simply be declared *persona non grata* by the Congolese Government. He also said there was no evidence that

Dayal had demonstrated himself to be unreliable and partial in the conduct of the operation.

The event which triggered the strongest reaction, however, was the transfer on January 17 of former Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba (who, as the result of a political convulsion in the Congo in September 1960 had been removed from office by President Kasavubu and had been arrested in December 1960) and two of his collaborators from Léopoldville to Katanga. Mali, Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, and others protested the transfer in most vigorous terms to the Secretary-General. The U.S.S.R. asserted that neither the U.N. Command nor the Secretary-General could "divest themselves of responsibility for these acts." Other members called on the United Nations to take Lumumba and his colleagues under its direct protection.

The Secretary-General, in letters to President Kasavubu and to Tshombe, on January 20, emphasized the right of Lumumba to "be tried without undue delay, to communicate with counsel, friends and family, and generally to have adequate facilities for the preparation of his defense." Despite this appeal, on February 13 the Katanga authorities, having announced the escape of Lumumba on the 10th, declared publicly he had been killed while attempting to escape.

Security Council Consideration in February

It was against this background that the Council met repeatedly during the month of February. The Casablanca group (Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, U.A.R.) on January 26 requested a meeting of the Council "to examine the recent alarming events [in the Congo] which are hampering the efforts for the preservation of law and order in that country, as well as its territorial integrity, and which, therefore, endanger international peace and security." These countries specifically referred to the continued detention of former Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and the failure of Parliament to meet.

Also on the agenda of the Council when it met on February 1 was a complaint by President Kasavubu of January 24 against "flagrant" intervention in the Congo's internal affairs by the United Arab Republic. This intervention, the Congolese communique said, "presents a manifest danger to international peace and security." The Council also had before it a request by the U.S.S.R. dated January 29, calling for "decisive action" to bring Belgian "aggression" against the Republic of the Congo to an end.

When the Council convened on February 1, Secretary-General Hammarskjold presented an analysis of the situation together with his recommendations. He pointed out that the rifts between political leaders in the Congo had widened as the result of the treatment given former Prime Minister Lumumba, but expressed the hope that the

efforts of the Conciliation Commission would be fruitful. He reiterated that "it is not the task of the United Nations to act for the Congolese people and to take political or constitutional initiatives aiming at the establishment" of any government. The tasks of the United Nations, as he redefined them, were to prevent intervention from outside the country and to assist in the maintenance of law and order. He pointed out that although the original mission of the United Nations to permit the withdrawal of Belgian troops was accomplished in late August, "outside interference" had "reoccurred in new and subtler but not less dangerous forms." In the circumstances prevailing in the Congo, the Secretary-General continued, "military assistance in men or materiel, on a governmental or nongovernmental basis, given to any one of the various factions of the army at present is a dangerous and negative element leading not in the direction of a solution in any lasting terms but away from conciliation and the creation of national unity."

The Secretary-General also pointed to serious reductions in the strength of the U.N. Force through withdrawals by the Casablanca powers and others. "A further reduction may lead us to a point where I would have to put before the Security Council, or the General Assembly, the question whether the Force should continue or be liquidated as no longer being able to tackle its tasks due to its reduced strength."

He asked the Council to consider carefully what the United Nations should do about the Congolese National Army, which had become totally "disorganized" when it lost its cadre of officers. United Nations efforts to retrain the army had come to nothing when, in early September 1960, the army split into various factions following various political leaders. The U.N. objective, the Secretary-General said, should be to make the Congolese army again "an effective, integrated, disciplined and well-organized national instrument of a government, accepted in constitutional and democratic forums as the central authority of the Republic."

Finally, he said, "nobody overlooks the difficulties ahead of the United Nations along the lines which circumstances now seem to point out, but the alternative is forbidding, as a breakdown would open the door to a wider conflict and might well threaten all with the dangers against which this Organization and its members have mobilized their best efforts since July 14, 1960, when this Council unanimously decided to step in in order to avert the developing threat to peace and security."

Meetings were held also on February 2, 7, 13–17 and 20–21. In addition to the members of the Council, 23 nonmembers were at their request invited to participate.

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On February 15, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, gave his first substantive statement on the Congo problem to the Security Council. It was a major address, defining in some detail the position of the new U.S. administration on the complicated Congo problem.

The U.S. Representative spoke in "a moment of grave crisis in the brief and tragic history of the Congo, and in a moment of equally grave crisis for the United Nations itself." In recent days, two national units had withdrawn from the United Nations Force, former Prime Minister Lumumba had died by violence, the Gizenga regime in Stanleyville had been recognized by the United Arab Republic, and the Soviet Union had threatened renewed unilateral action in the Congo.

In an effort to cope with this progressive deterioration, he said, the United States had been consulting widely among interested countries to evolve a program which could receive the support of the large majority of U.N. members.

The U.S. Representative cited certain fundamental principles which had the full support of the American people and Government:

1. Preservation of the unity, the territorial integrity and the political independence of the Congo;
2. Conviction that the Congo must not become the battleground of the Cold War;
3. Support for U.N. action as the best alternative to civil war with international involvement;
4. Creation of conditions that would permit the Congolese people themselves to decide their own destinies.

In the present conjunction of circumstances, the U.S. Representative continued, it is necessary urgently to translate these basic principles into concrete action. The following needs to be done, he continued.

"All foreign intervention outside the framework of the United Nations should cease immediately and any foreign military or paramilitary personnel in the Congo should be withdrawn." If others consciously and deliberately "seek to exacerbate the present situation," the United States would not "sit by," he warned; urgent steps should be taken by the United Nations to avoid civil war; such measures should be accompanied by immediate steps to assure long-range stability and progress. In this connection, he said that the United States endorsed the Secretary-General's proposal to take measures to unify, reorganize and retrain the Congolese armed forces with a view to eliminating force as a political factor in the country; all political prisoners still in custody should be released. Finally, the U.S. Repre-

sentative emphasized that the "ultimate objective of such steps should be to promote the reconciliation of the political elements in the Congo and a full return to constitutional processes in a form to be designated by the people themselves." These measures, the U.S. Representative explained, could only be carried out through the Secretary-General and the U.N. mission in the Congo. Any attempt to weaken the organization or the Secretary-General would wreck the U.N. effort in the Congo.

This series of Security Council meetings came to a close on February 21 when the Council adopted by a vote of 9 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 (France, U.S.S.R.) abstentions, a draft resolution sponsored by Ceylon, Liberia, and the United Arab Republic. The resolution was in two parts. The first part urged that measures be taken for the immediate withdrawal and evacuation from the Congo of all Belgian and other foreign military and paramilitary personnel and political advisers not under U.N. Command; called on all states to prevent the departure of such personnel from their territory for the Congo; reaffirmed previous Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on the Congo; and resolved that there should be an immediate investigation into the death of Mr. Lumumba. The second part urged the convening of the Congo Parliament, the reorganization and disciplining of the Congolese armed forces and called on all states to cooperate.

Earlier the same day a Soviet draft resolution condemning Belgium and calling for sanctions against that country as an aggressor, was rejected with only the sponsor voting in favor. The vote was 1 to 8 (U.S.), with 2 abstentions. The resolution would also have discontinued the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC) within a month and "deemed it essential" to dismiss "D. Hammarskjold" from the post of Secretary-General.

A third draft resolution, submitted by Ceylon, Liberia, and the United Arab Republic, dealing with "atrocities and assassinations in Léopoldville, Katanga and South Kasai" was also rejected by the Council after a United States attempt to widen the scope to include other parts of the Congo failed. Both U.S. amendments designed to accomplish this objective were vetoed by the Soviet Union. The three-power draft resolution then failed to carry by a vote of 5 to 1, with 5 (U.S.) abstentions.

Renewed Attack on the Secretary-General (see also section on "The Secretary-General")

The Soviet Union attempted to use the death of Patrice Lumumba to further its campaign against the institution and person of the

Secretary-General. On February 14 the Soviet delegation issued a statement which said that the U.S.S.R. would not "maintain any relations with Hammarskjold and would not recognize him as an official of the United Nations." It also submitted the resolution summarized above.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, speaking in the Council the next day, stated that the Soviet proposals constituted virtually "a declaration of war on the United Nations and on the principles of international action on behalf of peace." He praised the Secretary-General as a "dedicated international civil servant whose only loyalty is to international justice and international peace." If the Soviet Union wishes to "pretend he does not exist," Mr. Stevenson said, it would find the Secretary-General was "far from a disembodied ghost."

The Secretary-General also replied to Soviet charges and demands. He refused categorically to resign because the Soviet Union had made it absolutely clear that were he to do so, "no new Secretary-General could be appointed, and the world would have to bow to the wish of the Soviet Union to have this Organization, on its executive side, run by a triumvirate which could not function and which most definitely would not provide the instrument for all the uncommitted countries of which they are in need."

The Secretary-General also strongly defended the operations of the United Nations in the Congo. "For seven or eight months," he said, "through efforts far beyond the imagination of those who founded this Organization, it has tried to counter tendencies to introduce the big-power conflict into Africa and put the young African countries under the shadow of the Cold War. It has done so with great risks and against heavy odds. It has done so at the cost of very great personal sacrifices for a great number of people. . . . We countered effectively efforts from all sides to make the Congo a happy hunting ground for national interests. To be a road-block to such efforts is to make yourself the target of attacks from all those who find their plans thwarted. . . .

"Now under basically-identical although superficially more dramatic circumstances," he continued, "we have again reached the point where a local armed conflict is threatening in forms which are only too likely to lead to a widening of the conflict into the international arena. I have no new solutions to offer to you. Still, I firmly believe that, as in July and August last year, the only way in which the continent of Africa and its countries can counter a tragic development into an international conflict, perhaps on a world-wide scale, is by rallying around common aims within the framework of the United Nations."

Congo Developments in March

Developments in the Congo showed some signs of improvement during March, although the record was mixed. Between March 3 and 5, there was a series of clashes between Sudanese troops under the U.N. Command at the port city of Matadi and contingents of General Mobutu's Léopoldville forces. Two Sudanese were killed and the garrison overwhelmed by numerically-superior ANC troops. On March 6, President Abboud of the Sudan withdrew his national contingent. This was a particularly hard blow for the United Nations because of the moderation and devotion to the principles of the United Nations demonstrated by the Sudanese Government.

However, there was an encouraging development as well. Between March 6 and 12, a conference of Congolese leaders was held at Tananarive, in the Malagasy Republic, including both President Kasavubu and Katanga Provincial President Tshombe but without Antoine Gizenga's participation. Tentative agreement was reached by the participants to strive for the formation of a broad confederation of Congolese states, represented in international affairs by President Kasavubu and with a military alliance between Léopoldville, Katanga, and south Kasai.

On March 10, Ambassador Rajeshwar Dayal was replaced as Special Representative in the Congo by Mekki Abbas of the Sudan, formerly Director General of the Economic Commission for Africa. India agreed to send a large contingent of troops to the Congo, thereby arresting the attrition of the force as the result of systematic troop withdrawals by a number of countries. Tunisia and Liberia also agreed to increase the number of their troops under the U.N. Command.

Consideration in Resumed Session of Fifteenth General Assembly

The resumed session of the 15th General Assembly began debate on the Congo on March 21 with a Soviet statement. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko criticized again the U.N. Operation in the Congo and called for its termination within 1 month. He also repeated Soviet charges against the Secretary-General and of Belgian "aggression."

The U.S. Representative replied promptly. After listening to the "astonishing" Soviet charges, Ambassador Stevenson said he had concluded that there were two Congo problems, one in Africa and one in New York. He explained that the reason for the great and expensive U.N. effort in the Congo was not to impose a solution on the Congolese but to help the Congolese establish a government of their own choice and to help them to help themselves. The Soviet Union,

"by its wild and irresponsible and absurd attacks," he indicated, was only putting more obstacles in the path of the Secretary-General. For its part, he continued, the United States respected the high office of the Secretary-General, and considered him "a dedicated, impartial and scrupulously honest official of unimpeachable integrity. . . ."

The U.S. Representative also appealed for an end to the incessant debate in New York which had marked the first 9 months of the Congo operation. "We must stop, I suggest, pulling up the roots of this fragile plant every few days to see if it is growing. That is the best way to kill a plant, and I suspect that that may be the objective of these incessant attacks." He regretted that the Soviet Union had provoked another debate "with the clear intention not to encourage conciliation in the Congo, but to sow dissension and discord."

Again, on April 14, before the conclusion of the general debate on the Congo, the U.S. Representative delivered a major statement on U.S. policy in the Congo, by which he put the United States on record as endorsing the principal conclusions of the Conciliation Commission Report, (see p. 60). He explained that the major objective of the United States and the United Nations is "to help the leaders of the Congo create a peaceful, a viable and ultimately prosperous home for all of their peoples." The principal United Nations task is therefore "to promote policies . . . which apply steady pressure towards reconciliation and agreement." The United Nations, therefore, is "not an external coercive force" but "the only instrument available to control the warring factions while time is gained for mediation and agreement."

He pointed out that the United Nations ought to encourage the Congolese to continue their efforts to reach agreement among themselves on a new constitution, bearing in mind that until such agreement was reached it remained desirable that all concerned uphold the Fundamental Law as the basic law of the republic; the Congolese army and other armed groups now operating in the territory should be insulated from politics and reorganized; a federal form of government could best preserve Congolese unity and integrity, although this was a problem for the Congolese themselves to decide; and that the reconvening of Parliament was an essential step in reaching any solution to the political crisis.

On April 15, after 17 meetings, the Assembly adopted three resolutions and rejected one. The first draft resolution was submitted by a group of 21 African and Asian states and Yugoslavia. It called for the withdrawal from the Congo of all "Belgian and other foreign military and paramilitary personnel and advisers not under United Nations Command and mercenaries." This text was adopted by a vote of 61 to 5, with 33 abstentions including the United States. The

United States abstained because of the extreme language relating to Belgium.

A 17-nation draft resolution which called on the Congolese authorities concerned to "desist from attempting a military solution to their problems and to resolve them by peaceful means" was adopted by a vote of 60 (U.S.) to 16, with 23 abstentions. This resolution also called for "necessary and effective measures" to be taken immediately by the Secretary-General to prevent the introduction of arms, military equipment and supplies into the Congo, and also urged the immediate release of all members of Parliament and other political leaders now under detention as well as the convening without delay of Parliament under U.N. protection.

Finally, a draft resolution introduced by Ceylon, Ghana, India, and Morocco, calling for an "immediate and impartial investigation" into the death of former Prime Minister Lumumba was adopted by a vote of 45 to 3, with 49 (U.S.) abstentions.

A draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union, which would have called for the convening of Parliament within 21 days, was defeated by a vote of 29 to 53 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions. The United States opposed this resolution because it contravened the sovereignty of the Republic of the Congo by intervening in internal politics.

Conciliation Attempts in the Congo

Meanwhile, as the General Assembly was debating, events in the Congo continued to follow one another in kaleidoscopic fashion. On March 10 Mekki Abbas, the Secretary-General's new Special Representative in the Congo, began his efforts to persuade the Congolese to cooperate with the United Nations and with each other. On April 2 talks were held between representatives of the Léopoldville Government and the Stanleyville faction, and agreement was announced on the reconvening of Parliament. On April 7 the Central Government lifted its 4-month old economic blockade of Antoine Gizenga's Orientale Province, and an effort was made at military cooperation between General Mobutu of the Central Government and General Lundula of the Stanleyville regime.

Meanwhile, relations between the Katanga secessionist regime of Provincial President Moise Tshombe and the Congolese Government remained tense. At the end of March, Katanga forces led by European mercenaries drove ANC troops out of parts of the northern section of the province. On April 3, the first elements of a 4,700-man Indian force landed at the U.N. base of Kamina in northern Katanga. The following day, Tshombe termed this troop movement an act of war, and incited the population to attack the U.N. forces at Elisabethville airport. Despite the presence of U.N. reinforcements,

the Katanga army on April 8 attacked Kabalo in an area in north Katanga not under the political control of Tshombe. The United Nations riposted vigorously to prevent civil war under its February 21 Security Council mandate and captured a number of Katanga troops, including 32 foreign mercenaries. It was not until April 20 that Tshombe lifted the state of hostilities against the United Nations that he had initiated on April 3.

Two important steps were taken in late April to ease the tension. On April 17 President Kasavubu announced that an agreement had been reached with the United Nations on the reorganization of the ANC forces and on the withdrawal of foreign personnel. A week later the second major conference of Congolese leaders was held at Coquilhatville in the Congo, with virtually all major leaders present except Antoine Gizenga.

The Coquilhatville Conference was marred the day after it opened when Katanga Provincial President Moise Tshombe was arrested by the Congolese Central Government after he had attempted to leave the Conference with gestures of contempt for President Kasavubu. Nevertheless, the Conference did decide that the Congo would become a "Federal Republic" composed of states created from the existing provinces. About 20 "states" subsequently declared their existence. The Congo, under this agreement, was to have a single diplomatic service, a unified military force and one currency.

However, this attempt at national reconciliation, like the effort at Tananarive earlier in the year, was undermined by the absence of important national elements. Not only was Tshombe removed from the scene, but Gizenga, and those who had rallied to him at Stanleyville, failed to participate. These abortive efforts tended to discredit the concept of summit conferences of national leaders in Congolese eyes, and henceforth, the Congolese were inclined to look more toward a parliamentary solution to their problems. These efforts were strongly reinforced by those of the United Nations itself.

Reconvening of Congolese Parliament

Both the Security Council resolution of February 21, 1961, and that of the General Assembly on April 17 had urged the convening of Parliament without delay under U.N. protection. After preliminary discussions at Léopoldville, a U.N. official, Robert Gardiner of Ghana, visited Antoine Gizenga and members of his political group in Stanleyville on June 9 to discuss the question of a parliamentary session. As a result of these discussions, Gizenga proposed to send a three-man mission to Léopoldville to discuss details with the Central Government authorities. The United Nations undertook to give the members of this mission full protection, and on June 12, secured the agreement of the

Léopoldville authorities to name a three-man mission to negotiate with the Stanleyville team. Agreement was reached between the two parties on June 19; Gardiner and a Tunisian U.N. Secretariat official, Mahmoud Khiari, participated in the meetings and offered appropriate assistance.

The agreement provided that Parliament should meet under U.N. protection at Lovanium University, on the outskirts of Léopoldville. Central Government Congolese forces and police were not to be permitted to circulate in the city with arms. During the parliamentary session, all members of Parliament would be housed in the university itself and were to have no contacts with the outside world. The United Nations was given the duty "to ensure that the members of Parliament, the administrative personnel of the Assemblies and the United Nations civilian personnel placed at the disposal of Parliament shall not have with them any weapons, any money or any other negotiable instruments of any kind, either when entering Lovanium or upon their departure." All telephone lines were to be cut off, and free passage through the Congo for all members of Parliament was to be guaranteed by the United Nations. Parliament was to be convened by the President of the Republic. The United Nations was requested to "invite all the other political factions in the Congo to subscribe to this agreement." Finally, the United Nations was "authorized" to arrange all the necessary contacts between the Congolese political leaders.

The substance of this agreement itself represented a first major setback for Antoine Gizenga and his faction. Earlier, on May 16, Gizenga had made an abortive attempt to usurp the powers of President Kasavubu by calling for a meeting of Parliament at Kamina. He had written the Secretary-General stating, in part, "that by a decision of today's date, Kamina and the surrounding country for a radius of 100 kilometers from Kamina has been declared a neutral zone because it will be the provisional seat of the Parliament which will be convened there for an extraordinary session." This request had been strongly seconded by the Soviet Union, which "shares the opinion of the Government of the Republic of the Congo that the situation in Léopoldville does not ensure the safety of the members of the Congolese Parliament. . . ." This position had also been pressed by other bloc delegations in letters to the President of the Security Council.

On July 5 President Kasavubu issued an executive order implementing the agreement of June 19. The Legislative Chambers were to be convened at Lovanium on July 15, and the former Presidents of the two houses of Parliament were to set the actual date of the first reconvening. The Senate actually began to hold its sessions on

July 22, 1961, and the House of Representatives met on the following day. On August 1 President Kasavubu named Cyrille Adoula as *formateur* (Prime Minister Designate subject to approval of Parliament). On the following day, both Houses of Parliament approved the new Government, the Senate by a unanimous vote and the House with only one abstention.

Also on August 2 two important resolutions were adopted by Parliament. The first was adopted unanimously by the House and expressed its gratitude to the United Nations for its protection, as a result of which "the debates have taken place and the decisions have been adopted in an atmosphere of absolute security, free from threats of coercion." The second, adopted unanimously by both houses, declared that "the new government of national unity shall be the legal successor of the first Central Government of the Republic of the Congo" and that "no other government may claim to act as the constitutional government of the Congo."

Nearly 11 months after the dismissal of Prime Minister Lumumba by President Kasavubu, the Congo had a fully legal, widely recognized Central Government. Antoine Gizenga was named Vice-Premier in the newly formed Adoula Government. Although, he did not particiapte in the parliamentary session and only sporadically carried out his official duties thereafter, he no longer pretended to head the "Government of the Congo," in Stanleyville and he lost his international diplomatic recognition. Only the Katanga parliamentarians failed to attend, and from August 2 until the end of the year, the Katanaga secession became the principal problem for the United Nations in the Congo.

The Katanga Phase

By the time Prime Minister Adoula assumed office, in August 1961, the Katanga secession was more than a year old. Tshombe first declared Katanga to be an independent state on July 11, 1960. Although not a single country in the world accorded Katanga diplomatic recognition. Tshombe, because he exercised control over the Province, was able to oblige the rich mining companies doing business in the Province to pay tax revenues to him with which he was able to buy arms and hire mercenaries as needed.

Prime Minister Adoula, who was elected on a program of national unity, declared in his speech before the Parliament that "the secession of Katanga did great harm to the country. That was what divided us and deprived the State of a large part of the budgetary resources which belong to it. For the past year, we have tried all peaceful means of reaching an agreement with Elisabethville, but without success. . . . Your Government is determined in the very near future to annul the secession of Katanga."

For its part, the United Nations, although it had no specific mandate to "annul the secession," had been given important responsibilities by the Security Council and General Assembly in connection with the Katanga problem. These included: (1) the maintenance of the territorial integrity and political independence of the Republic of the Congo; (2) assisting the Central Government of the Congo in the restoration and maintenance of law and order; (3) preventing the occurrence of civil war; and (4) securing the immediate withdrawal and evacuation from the Congo of all foreign military, paramilitary and advisory personnel not under United Nations Command, and mercenaries. The United Nations was also assigned the responsibility for preventing the supply of materials of war to the Congo—including Katanga—except under its own auspices. Finally, the United Nations mandate to achieve national reconciliation through compromise was clearly applicable to the Katanga situation.

The focus of U.N. efforts in August and September was on the mercenary problem in Katanga. On August 24, 1961, President Kasavubu enacted an ordinance, providing for the expulsion of all non-Congolese officers and mercenaries serving with the Katanga forces not under contract to the Central Government. Prime Minister Adoula, on the basis of this ordinance, requested United Nations assistance in insuring the expulsion of personnel in these categories.

On August 26 the Katanga Minister of the Interior alleged that the United Nations was planning to disarm the Katanga armed forces and that some 1,500 ANC troops were on their way to Elisabethville. This announcement and similar false rumors created an atmosphere of renewed tension in the troubled province.

On the morning of August 28 the U.N. Command took energetic measures for evacuating foreign personnel and mercenaries. U.N. troops occupied Radio Katanga to prevent the broadcasting of further inflammatory propaganda, and stationed forces at other key points in the city of Elisabethville. The United Nations permitted radio broadcasting to go on normally except that it did not allow the broadcasting of material likely to incite the spread of civil war. Meanwhile, steps were taken throughout the city and nearby areas to evacuate the mercenaries. In a broadcast on August 28, Provincial President Tshombe declared that he approved of the evacuation of foreign military personnel and had terminated the services of all foreigners in the Katanga armed forces effective that day.

During the course of the 28th the U.N. officials in Elisabethville met with representatives of the Consular Corps. It was agreed that the Belgian Consul, who presided over these meetings, would undertake the responsibility for insuring the surrender and repatriation of all personnel required to be evacuated, irrespective of nationality. On

this understanding, the United Nations refrained from continuing the search, and permitted some 70 Belgian officers to remain in the Belgian Consulate building in Elisabethville until transport for them became available.

This procedure was only partially successful. The Belgian officers in the Consulate building together with Belgian officers placed at the disposition of the Katanga Government by the Belgian Government before the Congo became independent were indeed repatriated. In addition, during this operation, approximately 80 of 500 foreign advisers, military and paramilitary personnel and mercenaries were actually removed from the Congo. However, the remainder reinfiltrated into the Katanga gendarmerie. Moreover, there were growing indications that some of them were inciting the Katangans to resist the United Nations and that they were arming tribal and European elements as a prelude to a showdown. Meanwhile, the U.N. Command, as a result of the arrangement on repatriation worked out with the Consular Corps, had withdrawn from the key points occupied on August 28.

At the same time, it became clear that with the withdrawal of responsible Belgian officers, the character of the leadership elements in the Katanga gendarmerie had changed. The mercenaries included a few former French army officers (some of them unable to return to their own country because of their implication in the military revolts in Algeria), soldiers of fortune, and "volunteers" recruited from foreign elements in the Congo.

September 9 was set as the deadline for the evacuation of all foreign military personnel. However, by that date, only 273 foreign officers and mercenaries had been repatriated, and 65 were awaiting repatriation. At least 104 known mercenaries failed to report or to give any account of themselves. The U.N. Representative in Katanga, Conor Cruise O'Brien, once again called on the Consuls to insure the immediate departure of their nationals.

Meanwhile, the attitude of the Katanga authorities became more and more hostile. Violence directed against the Baluba element of the Elisabethville population resulted in a panic and a rush to secure U.N. protection. By September 9 there were 35,000 Balubas in a U.N. camp just outside of Elisabethville, thereby creating a serious social, economic and political problem for the U.N. Command. The discovery of a bomb plot on September 6 caused the United Nations to move its headquarters from Elisabethville to a nearby military camp. On September 11 the Deputy U.N. Representative in Katanga was arrested by order of a non-Congolese officer of the police.

The United Nations thereupon demanded the withdrawal of all non-Congolese officers from the police within 48 hours. The Katangans

replied by instituting heavily armed patrols at all public buildings and other important installations in Elisabethville. Arms were distributed to certain elements of the local population.

In an effort to lessen the tensions, the U.N. representatives met with Mr. Tshombe on September 12. They attempted to convince him of the need to reduce the number of armed Katanga troops and irregulars in Elisabethville, to halt the campaign of terror against the Balubas, to take steps to remove foreign mercenaries and to reconcile his differences with the Central Government by peaceful, constitutional means. The United Nations offered Tshombe firm guarantees of personal security if he would go to Léopoldville. On all these points, Tshombe's reply was firmly in the negative.

In the early hours of September 13, the U.N. Force repeated the August 28 operation, seizing the radio station and other key points. This operation was deemed necessary to prevent inflammatory radio broadcasts and other threats to law and order while the United Nations proceeded with the implementation of operative paragraph 2 of the February 21 Security Council resolution, regarding withdrawal and evacuation from the Congo of all mercenaries. This time, U.N. troops on their way to occupy their objectives were fired upon. They returned the fire. Once the radio station and the post office came under U.N. guard, a series of strong Katanga counterattacks was launched and U.N. troops subjected to intensive sniper fire.

Hostilities in Katanga (September 13–20)

The fighting which broke out on September 13 was limited in scope but nevertheless tragic in its consequences. The death of the Secretary-General was a direct result. The inconclusive outcome of the battle left the impression among Katanga's leaders that the United Nations had suffered a military defeat and that it could eventually be forced out of the Province by renewed military operations.

Every effort was made by the United Nations to achieve a cease-fire. On September 13, a cease-fire order was issued by Mr. Tshombe at the request of U.N. representatives but was disregarded by the Katangan troops. On the following day, "Foreign Minister" Kibwe undertook to attempt to have Mr. Tshombe appeal to the Katanga forces not to allow themselves to be led by foreign mercenaries. These efforts were continued until September 20, when a cease-fire arrangement was finally worked out.

The course of the fighting was confused, and, although occasionally sharp fighting took place, casualties were light. U.N. troops had no operational plan beyond holding their positions and only reacted to Katanga attack. Everywhere but in Jadotville, they maintained themselves against repeated attack and continual sniper and mortar

fire. In Jadotville, a company of U.N. Irish troops which had been sent at the request of the Consular Corps to protect the non-Congolese population was surrounded by a larger gendarmerie detachment and was eventually forced to surrender.

The major U.N. setback came in the air. The Katanga air force had acquired four Fouga Magister jet trainers earlier in the year, and one remained operational on September 13. Inasmuch as the United Nations had no military air force, this one foreign-piloted jet trainer was able to gain complete control of the air. In one week, it destroyed seven U.N. transport planes on the ground and virtually destroyed the United Nations ability to fly reinforcements and supplies to Elisabethville. It also bombed and strafed U.N. buildings and troops.

Death of the Secretary-General

The Secretary-General was actually on his way to the Congo to carry out a prior promise to Prime Minister Adoula when the fighting broke out on September 13. Upon his arrival, he took personal charge of the efforts to achieve a cease-fire.

At midnight on September 16, the British Consul informed the U.N. Representative in Elisabethville that Katanga Provincial President Tshombe desired to meet with the U.N. Representative the following day in northern Rhodesia. In reply, the Secretary-General, after referring to the U.N. mandate in the Congo, emphasized to Mr. Tshombe that "A principle of the United Nations which is absolutely binding upon all is the maintenance of peace and, to that end and in order to protect human life, they are bound to cease all hostilities and to seek solutions to the conflict by means of negotiation, mediation and conciliation. . . . I suggest that I should meet you personally, so that together we can try to find peaceful means of resolving the present conflict." The Secretary-General further suggested that an immediate cease-fire be ordered and that Mr. Tshombe meet with him at Ndola in northern Rhodesia.

Even before Mr. Tshombe agreed, the Secretary-General took off in a DC–6B, on charter from the Swedish Transair Company and assigned to the Force Commander of the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC). The plane had suffered slight damage while taking off from Elisabethville the morning of September 17, but had been repaired. It took off at 5:00 p.m. of the same day for Ndola, traveling by night in order to avoid possible attack by the Fouga jet.

In circumstances that are still not clear, the plane crashed some 9 miles from the airfield at Ndola at about 1 in the morning. The Secretary-General and 13 of the 14 aides and staff aboard were found dead the next day. The sole survivor, Sgt. Harold Julien, died on September 23.

Cease-Fire Agreement of September 20

Despite this tragic development, which plunged the world into grief and the United Nations into a constitutional crisis, fighting continued in Katanga. On the morning of September 18, the Katanga jet fighter bombed the U.N. Headquarters building in Elisabethville, and five Italian Red Cross personnel were captured by the gendarmerie. The U.N. base at Kamina was again attacked from the air and on the ground.

Late in the evening of September 18, it was decided that Mahmoud Khiari of Tunisia, head of the U.N. civilian operation in the Congo, should proceed to Ndola immediately to carry on the Secretary-General's efforts. By the afternoon of September 20, Khiari and Tshombe signed a Provisional Agreement for a Cease-Fire, which provided: (1) firing to end on midnight of September 21; (2) a joint commission of four members to be established to supervise the application of the Agreement, to foster better relations and to fix the respective positions of the troops of both sides; (3) no reinforcement of positions by troops or materiel to be permitted; and (4) an exchange of prisoners to be carried out. By September 21, only two minor shooting incidents marred the peace in Elisabethville, and the situation everywhere else in the Province was quiet.

Implementation of Cease-Fire Agreement

Conclusion of the Cease-Fire Agreement ended the fighting but solved little else. The four-man Commission established by the Agreement first met in Elisabethville on September 26; the Katanga representatives called on this occasion for the complete withdrawal of U.N. troops from Katanga but later withdrew this demand after its rejection by the United Nations. The following day, the Katanga representatives demanded that the United Nations yield control of all airfields in the Province, restrict U.N. troops to their barracks and similar measures. A joint Katangan-United Nations subcommission toured U.N. bases and installations in the Province, but the United Nations was refused similar inspection of Katanga installations. (The United Nations was, however, permitted to visit the 191 Irish prisoners held at Jadotville.) Moreover, mercenaries, planes, and other materials of war continued to enter Katanga.

Finally, on October 13, 1961, a "Protocol of Agreement between the Katanga authorities and ONUC subsequent to the cease-fire" was signed at Elisabethville. This protocol provided that the exchange of prisoners should finally take place on October 16, 1961. It also restored control to the Katanga authorities of a number of key points seized by the United Nations on September 13, including the strategically important Kasenga Highway Tunnel, the Lido Hotel, the

central post office and the radio installations. The agreement explicitly provided for the neutralization of the first two points; ONUC technicians were to be permitted to supervise postal operations in order to make certain that the immunity of ONUC communications would be respected. Both sides agreed not to use the radio station for "defamatory attack or inflammatory campaign."

In approving the Protocol, U.N. Headquarters in New York made it clear that neither the Protocol nor the Cease-Fire Agreement could in any way affect the resolutions of the Security Council, including those operative paragraphs relating to mercenaries. The Agreement was also stated to be purely military in nature and applicable only to the U.N. Force in Katanga and to the armed forces of Katanga. The Agreement had no political intent or effect, and it applied only to Katanga. In no way could approval of these documents involve any "derogation of the unity, territorial integrity or independence of the Congo, affirmed and reaffirmed by resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, of the sovereignty of the Republic of the Congo, or of the authority of the Central Government."

Efforts to implement the Protocol and the Cease-Fire Agreement met with mixed success. Prisoners were finally exchanged on October 25. ONUC withdrew its troops from the positions agreed to, and Elisabethville airport was reopened to civilian air traffic. On the other hand, the joint subcommissions designed to inspect positions in order to ensure compliance with the agreements never met because the Katangans never named their representatives. The power station for Kamina Air Base was not returned to U.N. control as required. United Nations technicians were not permitted to assure the immunity of U.N. communications at the post office. Moreover, the Katangans violated an important provision of the Protocol by launching almost immediately a series of propaganda attacks against the United Nations, continuing unabated until December. Meanwhile, the mercenaries, cause of much of the violence and bloodshed, simply donned civilian clothes and went "underground." Others who had been evacuated by the United Nations in August were reliably reported to have returned.

Potentially the most dangerous breach of the cease-fire were the bombing attacks by the Katanga Air Force against ANC troop units in the neighboring Province of Kasai. One such attack was carried out on October 22 against ANC troops in the Luiza area. Between October 27 and 29, Katanga aircraft also attacked troops, civilians, railway communications, and an airstrip in the Luputa area. A U.N. DC–4 was chased by a Katanga Dornier on October 29. On October 31, Congolese Central Government military authorities reported four separate air attacks in the Mwene-Ditu area, some 30

miles inside the Kasai border. During early November Katangan troops severed the main rail link between Katanga and Port Franqui by destroying the Lubilash railroad bridge.

The U.N. Representative in Elisabethville on October 31 formally warned the Katanga authorities to ground all military aircraft immediately or face U.N. counter-action. These attacks were considered by the United Nations to be violations of the Cease-Fire Agreement as well as contrary to the letter and the spirit of a number of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions. By this time, the United Nations had also acquired the means to cope with this type of Katanga air activity, in the form of four Ethiopian F–86's, 6 Indian Canberra jet-fighter-bombers, and 5 Swedish Saab jet fighters. Following this warning and the institution of air patrols over the area, Katanga authorities ended their air attacks.

United Nations Efforts To Secure Conciliation

United Nations efforts were instrumental in securing an exchange of letters between Prime Minister Adoula and Mr. Tshombe in October. On October 18 two emissaries from Katanga flew to Léopoldville with U.N. Civilian Operations Chief Khiari. The letter which they delivered to Prime Minister Adoula offered an immediate agreement to the Central Government provided it accepted the "entity" of Katanga as a fact. Tshombe also suggested that both sides proscribe resort to U.N. force to maintain security or resolving conflicts. In return, Tshombe proposed the formation of a customs, monetary and financial union and a unification of the armed forces.

In reply, the Central Government indicated its willingness to consider any proposals providing they were contained within the framework of the Fundamental Law and the parliamentary institutions established under its authority. It was prepared to accept the "entity of Katanga" in accordance with the Fundamental Law, which clearly provided for the existence and functions of the Congolese provinces. Prime Minister Adoula declared himself ready to meet with Mr. Tshombe and his colleagues at any time to carry on detailed discussions.

The next phase of the dialogue was Katanga Provincial President Tshombe's October 25 reply to Prime Minister Adoula, requesting that steps be taken to establish a more favorable climate for direct talks. He requested that Congolese military operations in or in the direction of Katanga be stopped. Prime Minister Adoula agreed and sent the Chief of Staff of the Congolese Armed Forces, General Mobutu, to Kasai for this purpose. At the same time, the Prime Minister also informed the Katanga President of this action through the United Nations.

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The discussion came to an end for the time being when Mr. Tshombe, on October 27, sent a message to the Prime Minister protesting Congolese Army "genocide," and depredations in north Katanga on October 26 and 27. At the same time, aircraft of the Katanga Air Force had engaged in the bombing raids described above. Prime Minister Adoula thereupon declared over the Congolese radio that his Government had exhausted all means for peaceful reconciliation and would continue with its police action to restore law and order in north Katanga and end the Katanga secession.

Civil War and ANC Depredations

Civil war once again threatened in the Congo. During the month of October, there were various movements of ANC troops under the control of the Central Government towards the Katanga-Kasai border. In early November, units from Stanleyville under the command of General Lundula began to move on Katanga from the north. While the penetration by both groups was minimal and only isolated clashes were reported, the potential for large-scale fighting persisted and was a major problem for the United Nations.

Immediate problems were posed by the lack of discipline among certain elements of these troops, particularly those from Stanleyville. During the night of November 2–3, Nigerian troops of the U.N. Command were forced to disarm and arrest over one-hundred ANC troops who had terrorized Europeans in the Luluabourg area. In Albertville, bands of pillaging youths took advantage of the presence of ANC troops to run riot, necessitating U.N. military intervention to protect Congolese and Europeans alike. On November 11, 13 members of an Italian air crew were savagely murdered by Congolese troops from Stanleyville.

Security Council Resolution of November 24

It was against this background that the Security Council held eight meetings between November 13 and 24. In view of the position taken formally on October 14 by Tshombe that he had won a victory over the United Nations, with mercenaries and materials of war returning into Katanga, with civil war threatening, and with depredations by certain elements of the Congolese armed forces, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and the Sudan called for a meeting of the Security Council. In addition to the members of the Council, Ethiopia, Belgium, India, Congo (Léopoldville), and Sweden participated in the meetings.

Ceylon, Liberia, and the United Arab Republic submitted a draft resolution which reaffirmed the unity of the Congo and specifically condemned secessionist activities in Katanga. The draft resolution

also authorized the Secretary-General to use force, if necessary, to eliminate foreign mercenaries in the Congo, and once again requested member states to take steps to prevent arms from entering the Congo except under U.N. auspices.

In the course of the debate, the United States introduced a number of amendments designed to expand the application of the resolution more explicitly to all parts of the Congo and to make its implementation more effective. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, proposed that the United Nations act to halt the flow of arms, to remove the remaining mercenaries, to reorganize the ANC forces, including the training of a small air force, and to take steps against all secessionist movements in the Congo—Mr. Gizenga's as well as Mr. Tshombe's. Another important element in the United States view was that the Katanga secession and other problems should be settled by negotiations and conciliation if possible.

The United States voted for the resolution, despite a Soviet veto of two U.S. amendments and the failure of a third to secure the necessary votes for adoption, because the resolution contained useful elements and did apply to the Congo as a whole, not merely Katanga. As the U.S. Representative also pointed out, "this new resolution can in no way be a diminution of, but only an addition to, authority previously granted. We have full confidence that the Secretary-General will continue to carry out all of these resolutions to the full effect." Moreover, the resolution reaffirmed all previous Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on the Congo, including those providing for retraining of the ANC forces and conciliation.

Secretary-General U Thant, in his first oral statement to the Council on the Congo, underlined and emphasized a number of these points. He stressed his hope to proceed by conciliation and compromise in implementing his mandate. On the mercenaries, he declared that "it is intolerable that efforts to prevent civil war and to achieve reconciliation should be persistently obstructed and thwarted by professional adventurers who fight and kill for money." He pointed out that "all of the United Nations responsibilities flowing from past resolutions on the Congo continue with new emphasis. . . . Assistance must be given to the Central Government in the maintenance of law and order. Everything possible must be done to avert civil war, even by the employment of force, should this prove necessary as a last resort. . . . Supporting the territorial integrity of the country, the United Nations position, it seems to me, is automatically against all armed activities against the Central Government and against secessionist forces. . . . More determined and effective steps must be taken with regard to the training and reorganization of the Congolese armed forces under the terms of the previous resolutions adopted by this Council. . . ."

In addition to reaffirming basic U.N. objectives in the Congo, the resolution of November 24, as adopted, authorized the Secretary-General to take "vigorous action, including the requisite measure of force, if necessary, for the immediate apprehension, detention pending legal action and/or deportation of all foreign military and para-military personnel and political advisers not under the United Nations command and mercenaries"; requested the Secretary-General to prevent the entry of arms, equipment or other materials; declared that all secessionist activities against the Republic of the Congo were illegal; and declared the Council's "full and firm support for the Central Government of the Congo." The vote was 9 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 (France, U.K.) abstentions.

During the session, the Council received a cable from Mr. Tshombe which "reaffirmed, on behalf of the Katanganese Government, Parliament and the people, the existence of Katanga as a sovereign and independent nation" and stated that "Katanga pledges itself to respect the principles of the United Nations Charter." The cable received a poor reception; Foreign Minister Spaak of Belgium declared that it was a "bad" telegram and that he could not see how the Central Government could negotiate on such terms. Foreign Minister Bomboko of the Congo called the Tshombe cable virtually an application for U.N. membership.

Second Round of Hostilities in Katanga

Fighting between U.N. and Katanga forces broke out again on December 5. The circumstances included a long list of provocative acts by the Katanga authorities, still persuaded that in a military showdown the U.N. Force could not or would not fight effectively.

Almost from the conclusion of the Cease-Fire Agreement, the Katanga authorities began to carry out a systematic propaganda campaign against the United Nations. An official Katanga communique on November 15, for example, declared that "ill-intentioned officials" of the United Nations are "intent on massacring the people who have remained faithful to the Katanga Government." Tshombe himself, on November 25, said that "not one UN mercenary must feel himself safe in any place whatever."

This systematic propaganda attack carried on under official Katanga auspices resulted in a rash of provocative acts. On November 25, the two principal U.N. officials in Katanga Province, Ivan Smith (Australian) and Brian Urquhart (British) were severely beaten by Katanga troops and rescued only by the heroic action of American Consul Lewis Hoffacker. On the same day, an Indian officer of the U.N. Force disappeared, never to be heard of again, and his driver was killed. On December 2, Katanga gendarmerie elements opened fire

on Indian troops at Elisabethville airport, Katanga roadblocks were set up, and one Argentine, two Norwegian, and seven Swedish members of ONUC were abducted by Katanga forces. On the following day, the roads between U.N. Headquarters and the airport were blockaded by Katanga troops, a U.N. helicopter was fired upon, U.N. troops in various parts of the city were fired upon by Katanga gendarmerie and one U.N. death and two injured were reported. A doctor and three medical personnel of the Swedish battalion disappeared. On December 4, Katangan paracommandos established roadblocks completely cutting communications between ONUC Headquarters and the airfield. Repeated representations were made to the Katanga authorities, and the Katanga "Foreign Minister" promised to remove the troops. His orders apparently were not obeyed.

The United Nations therefore, in effect, had no choice but to remove the roadblocks or leave Katanga. Early in the afternoon of December 5, Indian troops under U.N. Command took action to clear the roadblocks and the "second round" of fighting began.

The United Nations made every effort to limit the fighting. The removal of the roadblock that precipitated the fighting took approximately one half-hour at a cost of one Indian officer killed and four men wounded and 38 Katanga gendarmes and paracommandos and two mercenaries killed. The United Nations then held its position, but took no further offensive action that day. United Nations troops received heavy fire in various parts of the city, and U.N. Headquarters was hit with mortar fire. The following day saw no return to reason on the part of the Katanga authorities. Katanga "Interior Minister" Munongo declared over Radio Katanga that: "Not content with the rebuff it suffered last September, this international organization, in agreement with its Secretary-General U Thant, has just declared war on the small people of Katanga. . . . People of Katanga awake: the hour has come; let us defend ourselves furiously, even if the fight should last 10 years. Today, Elisabethville has awakened in the hope of a promised and total victory over the armed forces of the United Nations mercenaries. . . ."

Between December 6 and 14, the United Nations attempted to prevent the reinforcement of the Katanga gendarmerie by air strike and concentrated on building up its own forces for a major thrust at key but limited objectives. The reinforcement was completed on December 14, and the United Nations began its attack on its objectives around the periphery of Elisabethville. By December 16 the United Nations had cleared the road leading to the airport, captured the Lido area and gained control of the road to Kipushi and the Rhodesian frontier. It had also seized the main gendarmerie base in Elisabethville (Camp Massart) and captured the strategic tunnel under the railroad bridge. Ethiopian troops on the following day were forced to storm the Union

Miniere installations in Elisabethville, after it became clear that it was being used by the gendarmerie as the main base for attack against the United Nations and after a 48-hour ultimatum had expired. By the morning of December 18, the city of Elisabethville was effectively under U.N. control.

Kitona Negotiations and the Hold-Fire

On December 15, 1961, President Kennedy received a cable from Mr. Tshombe indicating the latter's desire to negotiate with Prime Minister Adoula the various outstanding Congolese problems. The President immediately contacted the U.N. Secretary-General and Prime Minister Adoula. The United Nations decided to make available U.N. Under Secretary Ralph Bunche and Robert Gardiner, both then in Léopoldville on missions from U.N. Headquarters, to render assistance on behalf of the United Nations. President Kennedy immediately informed Mr. Tshombe of the Secretary-General's decision, and designated U.S. Ambassador to the Congo Edward Gullion to act as his Personal Representative in facilitating rapid arrangements for the talks. The suggested meeting place was the U.N. Base at Kitona, near the mouth of the Congo River.

The United Nations decided, in order to facilitate the meeting, that the U.N. Force would hold its fire as soon as word was received that Mr. Tshombe was airborne from Ndola in northern Rhodesia enroute to Kitona. Tshombe was also offered full U.N. guarantees for his personal safety. He boarded a U.S. airplane at 8 in the morning on December 19, and accompanied by Ambassador Gullion, arrived at Kitona the same day for his historic meeting with Prime Minister Adoula.

After 2 days of difficult bargaining, Mr. Tshombe signed an eight-point declaration agreed upon with Prime Minister Adoula which settled the issue of Katanga's secession in principle. By the Kitona Agreement, Tshombe: (1) accepted the *Loi Fondamentale;* (2) recognized the "indissoluble unity" of the Congo; (3) recognized Kasavubu as Chief of State; (4) recognized the authority of the Central Government over the whole of the Congo; (5) agreed to Katangan participation in redrafting the Congolese Constitution; (6) pledged the return of Katangan representatives to parliament; (7) placed the Katangan army under the Chief of State; and (8) indicated he would respect U.N. resolutions.

In a separate note to U.N. Under Secretary Bunche, however, in which the declaration was transmitted, Mr. Tshombe maintained that he would have to consult the competent authorities in Katanga, implying that the accord might have to be ratified by the Katangan Assembly.

Mr. Tshombe took the first step towards implementation of the Kitona Agreement on December 23 when he declared that a parliamentary delegation would be sent to Léopoldville as provided for in article 6. These representatives began to arrive in Léopoldville on December 27, and others followed shortly. On December 30, Tshombe called the Katangan Assembly into session to consider the Kitona Agreement.

Still another encouraging development by the end of the year was the resumption, on December 27, of diplomatic relations between Belgium and the Congo.

United States Support of ONUC

During the year, the United States continued to provide the bulk of the logistical support for the U.N. Operation in the Congo. (For a discussion of U.S. financial support of the Congo operation, see pp. 344, 345.) By the end of 1961 the U.S. Air Force had flown 1,339 sorties, airlifting over 46,000 troops and 7,800 tons of supplies and equipment to and from the Congo. In addition, from October 1960 to December 1961, approximately 13,000 troops, 4,860 tons, and 612 vehicles were sealifted in or out of the Congo.

In addition, the United States inaugurated a new logistical service for ONUC during the year. At the time of the September 13–20 hostilities, the United Nations requested that the United States provide air transport to assist in the internal airlift of troops and equipment from Léopoldville to various locations inside the Congo, including Katanga. The U.S. Government agreed to provide a number of transport aircraft for such use as a logical extension of its general logistical support. When hostilities again broke out on December 5, the United Nations again requested planes to be stationed in the Congo for intra-Congo airlift missions. In response, the U.S. Air Force airlifted 1,575 troops and 928.3 tons of equipment within the Congo—mainly to Elisabethville—in approximately 101 sorties from December 5 to the end of the year. It was this internal airlift that permitted the rapid U.N. buildup in Katanga, a rapid and effective U.N. military operation, and led to the Kitona Agreement.

In terms of total miles traveled, U.S. logistical support for ONUC represents the greatest single airlift ever carried out by any country at any time. It is noteworthy that it has been carried out without a single fatal accident.

Cuba

On December 31, 1960, Raúl Roa, the Cuban Minister for External Relations, requested an immediate meeting of the Security Council

because, he alleged, the U.S. Government was "about to perpetrate, within a few hours, direct military aggression against the Government and people of Cuba, thus placing in grave peril international peace and security." The Security Council considered Cuba's complaint on January 4–5, 1961.

In his statement of January 4, Mr. Roa accused the U.S. Government of preparing a massive military attack on Cuba under the following pretexts: Cuba had been transformed into a spearhead of international communism; a Communist government had been established in Cuba; and bases had been constructed for the launching of Soviet rockets. Mr. Roa charged that the recent action of the United States in breaking diplomatic relations with Cuba was part of a strategic plan whereby, after a beachhead was established as a result of a lightning invasion, a provisional government would be established by anti-Castro Cubans and the assistance of the United States would be requested in pacifying the country. Dr. Roa alleged that Cuban refugees were recruited and trained by the United States for an invasion and that Guatemala, Nicaragua, and other Latin American states permitted their territory to be used for training purposes.

Only the Representative of the Soviet Union supported Cuba's charges.

Ambassador James F. Wadsworth, speaking for the United States on January 4, stressed that Cuba had made similar charges on at least three previous occasions in the United Nations and that no invasion had taken place. Rather, he said, Cuban officials in 1959 had supported invasions of Panama, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti. The U.S. Representative deplored the fact that Castro and his colleagues had betrayed the ideals of the Cuban revolution and had placed Cuba in the hands of international communism. He said it was not an invasion which the present Cuban leaders really feared but the Cuban people who had been deceived, oppressed, and denied their fundamental human rights. The U.S. Representative pointed out that the United States had twice requested the convocation of the *ad hoc* Committee, created by the Seventh Meeting of American Foreign Ministers at San José, Costa Rica, to look into Cuba's and other charges, but that Cuba had ignored U.S. efforts to have such an investigation by the Organization of American States (OAS).

Chile and Ecuador, on January 4, introduced a draft resolution which would have had the Council: (1) recommend to Cuba and the United States that they make every effort to resolve their differences by the peaceful means in the Charter, and (2) urge member states to refrain from any action which might aggravate the tension between the two countries. The U.S. Representative expressed the opinion

that there should be no resolution adopted by the Council taking account of the Cuban charges.

The Representatives of Chile and Ecuador indicated that since their resolution would not command the unanimous support for which they had hoped, they would not press it to a vote. The Council adjourned without adopting a resolution.

Action by the Resumed Session of the Fifteenth General Assembly

On October 31, 1960, at Cuba's request, the first part of the 15th General Assembly had inscribed an additional item entitled "Complaint by the Revolutionary Government of Cuba regarding the Various Plans of Aggression and Acts of Intervention being Executed by the Government of the United States against the Republic of Cuba, constituting a Manifest Violation of its Territorial Integrity, Sovereignty and Independence, and a Clear Threat to International Peace and Security." Since the Political and Security Committee did not have time to consider this item prior to the recess on December 20, 1960, Cuba's complaint was among the items to be considered at the resumed session of the 15th General Assembly in the spring of 1961.

The Political and Security Committee considered the Cuban item on an urgent basis on April 15, 1961. Mr. Roa denounced what he called the act of aggression against his country which he said had taken place earlier that morning when three B–26 planes attacked targets in Habana, Santiago, and San Antonia de los Baños. He charged that the air attack was the prelude to a large-scale invasion organized, financed, and equipped by agencies of the United States Government.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, rejected the Cuban charges. He quoted President Kennedy's statements that there would not be, under any conditions, any intervention in Cuba by United States Armed Forces, and, secondly, that the United States would do what it could to make sure that no Americans participated in any actions against Cuba.

On April 17, Mr. Roa charged that Cuba had been invaded that morning by a mercenary force organized, financed and armed by the Government of the United States and coming from Guatemala and Florida. He alleged that the United States sought to reduce Cuba to an economic and political satellite.

The United States Representative pointed out that the United States had committed no aggression against Cuba and that no offensive had been launched from Florida or from any other part of the United States. However, he made it clear that the United States sympathized with the Cuban people—including those in exile—

who sought Cuban independence and freedom. He also made it clear that the United States did not oppose social change, but pointed out that Cuba's efforts were designed to force a totalitarian ideology on other American states. He quoted President Kennedy's statement, ". . . progress yes, tyranny no." The Representative of the Soviet Union supported Mr. Roa's charges and accused the United States of seeking to divert the Committee's attention from the question before it.

On April 18 the Soviet Representative read the text of a message from Premier Khrushchev to President Kennedy which warned that the U.S.S.R. would give the Cuban Government all necessary assistance in repelling the attack. The U.S. Representative then read President Kennedy's reply which rejected the Soviet interpretation of events in Cuba and cautioned the Soviet Union against using events in Cuba as a pretext to inflame other areas of the world. The U.S. Representative also stated that the United States intended no military intervention in Cuba and emphasized that Dr. Roa had not produced any evidence of a U.S. invasion of Cuba.

Speaking again on April 20, the U.S. Representative noted that many speakers in the debate had deliberately confused United States sympathy with the Cuban exiles with intervention and aggression. He asked how long Cuba could resist the military power of the United States if American armed forces had, in fact, been used against Cuba? "Perhaps the best evidence of the falsity of the shrill charges of American aggression is the melancholy fact that this blow for freedom has not yet succeeded," he said. In rejecting charges that the forces which participated in the landings were mercenaries, the U.S. Representative praised the refugees as "a part of a great multitude of men who had left their homes, who have lost their all, who have risked death and disaster sooner than live in chains."

Four draft resolutions were considered by the Political and Security Committee. The U.S.S.R. introduced a resolution which would have had the General Assembly: express its concern at the armed aggression against the Republic of Cuba; view the aggression as a threat to peace and security; condemn the aggressive actions of the United States and other countries which assisted the invaders; demand that all U.N. members cease assistance to the invaders; and call on U.N. members to render assistance to Cuba in repelling the invasion if it should request such aid.

Rumania's draft resolution would have had the General Assembly: express its deep concern at the armed attack on Cuba which constituted a threat to general peace and security; demand the immediate cessation of military operations against Cuba; and urgently appeal

to the states, whose territory and means were being used for the attack, to stop every assistance without delay.

Mexico submitted a draft resolution which in its operative paragraphs would have had the General Assembly: (1) express concern over the situation described therein, the continuation of which was likely to endanger peace; (2) consider that a permanent aim of the United Nations was to develop friendly relations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples; (3) state its belief that the principle of nonintervention in the internal affairs of any state imposed an obligation on member states to refrain from encouraging or promoting civil strife in other states; (4) recall that all states, under article 33 of the Charter, have a duty to seek the pacific settlement of disputes; (5) appeal to all states to insure that their territories were not used to promote a civil war in Cuba; (6) urge all states to put an immediate end to any activity that might result in further bloodshed; (7) and request them to cooperate in the search for a peaceful solution.

Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Honduras, Panama, Uruguay, and Venezuela submitted a resolution by which the General Assembly, expressed its deep concern over the situation disclosed in the statements made by Cuba, the United States, and others, which was disturbing the American continent and the continuance of which could endanger peace; and recalled the last two paragraphs of the Security Council's resolution of July 19, 1960 (which invited OAS members to assist in a peaceful solution and urged all other states to refrain from increasing tensions). In the operative part of this resolution the Assembly would: (1) exhort those member states which belonged to the OAS to lend their assistance with a view to a peaceful settlement in accordance with the United Nations and OAS Charters; and (2) exhort all member states to abstain from any action which might aggravate existing tensions.

The U.S. Representative announced on April 20 that the United States would support the seven-power resolution, and that it would vote against the Soviet and Rumanian resolutions as well as against the Mexican resolution since the latter did not mention the OAS or cooperation in the Western Hemisphere.

A series of amendments to the seven-power resolution were proposed by Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Nigeria, and Cyprus. The most important amendments were submitted by Sudan and Nigeria. The Sudanese amendments, after finding the situation a potential danger to world peace, provided for deletion of references to the OAS. The Nigerian amendments would have: (1) added to operative paragraph 1 calling on members to assist in a settlement, the words "and to report to the United Nations at its Sixteenth Session the measures they have

taken," and (2) inserted operative paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of the Mexican draft resolution (see above) between operative paragraphs 1 and 2 of the seven-power resolution.

Nigeria withdrew its amendments prior to the voting in the Committee; however, the cosponsors accepted the first Nigerian amendment as slightly reworded by Cyprus. The references to world peace in the Sudanese amendments were also accepted by the cosponsors; but they opposed the amendments deleting reference to the OAS. The remaining Sudanese amendments were rejected by a vote of 31 to 43 (U.S.), with 23 abstentions. The revised seven-power resolution was adopted by a vote of 61 (U.S.) to 27, with 10 abstentions. The Mexican draft resolution was adopted by the Committee by a vote of 42 to 31 (U.S.), with 25 abstentions. The Soviet Union and Rumania withdrew their draft resolutions.

The two resolutions were considered in the General Assembly on April 21. Dr. Roa referred to press reports of a so-called "conspiracy begun by Ex-President Eisenhower and brought to completion by the present administration." He opposed the seven-power resolution on the grounds that it implicitly sanctioned the invasion of Cuba. Representatives of the Soviet Union and Rumania supported the Cuban position.

In a separate vote, the third preambular paragraph of the seven-power resolution (referring to the July 19, 1960, Security Council resolution), was adopted by 55 (U.S.) to 15 (Albania, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Hungary, Mexico, Morocco, Poland, Rumania, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia), with 25 (Afghanistan, Austria, Bolivia, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Nepal, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Sweden, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen) abstentions.

The first operative paragraph (calling on OAS members to assist in a peaceful settlement) failed to receive the required two-thirds majority; the vote was 56 (Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Léopoldville), Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, El Salvador, Malaya, France, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Laos, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Senegal, Somalia, Spain, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Union of South Africa, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela) to 32 (Soviet bloc and Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Cuba, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Saudi

Arabia, Sudan, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia), with 8 (Bolivia, Cambodia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Finland, Jordan, Liberia, Sweden) abstentions.

The amended seven-power resolution was adopted by a vote of 59 (U.S.) to 13 (Soviet bloc and Cuba, Guinea, Lebanon, Morocco), with 24 (Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Mali, Mexico, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Sweden, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia) abstentions. In the amended seven-power resolution as adopted, the General Assembly after having heard statements by Cuba, the United States, and others, expressed its deep concern over the situation disclosed therein which was disturbing world public opinion and the continuation of which could endanger world peace; and recalled the last two paragraphs of the Security Council resolution of July 19, 1960, and the peaceful means of settlement established at the Seventh Meeting of Consultation of American Foreign Ministers. In the operative portion of the resolution the Assembly: (1) considered that United Nations members are under an obligation to settle their disputes by negotiations and other peaceful means in a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered; and (2) exhorted all member states to take such peaceful action as is open to them to remove existing tension.

The Mexican draft resolution failed to receive the necessary two-thirds majority for adoption. The vote was 41 (Afghanistan, Albania, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Ceylon, Chile, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ireland, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Poland, Rumania, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugoslavia) to 35 (Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Chad, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, France, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Thailand, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela), with 20 (Austria, Central African Republic, Congo (Léopoldville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Malaya, Finland, Iceland, Iran, Jordan, Laos, Liberia, Norway, Portugal, Senegal, Spain, Sweden, Union of South Africa) abstentions.

Hijacked Electra Aircraft

On July 24, 1961, an Eastern Airlines Electra aircraft on its regularly scheduled flight from Miami to Tampa was forcibly diverted

in flight to Habana by an armed passenger. The United States Government immediately transmitted a request through the Swiss Government for the return of the passengers, crew and airplane. The crew and all of the passengers, with the exception of the passenger who had forced the pilot to divert the aircraft to Habana, were released and returned to the United States on July 25, 1961. The aircraft, however, was detained and the Cuban Government did not reply to requests for its return.

On July 28, 1961, the Cuban Representative addressed a letter to the President of the Security Council in which he alleged "a most serious threat to international peace arising from imminent military aggression by the imperialist Government of the United States against the Revolutionary Government and the people of Cuba on the pretext that a United States aircraft was diverted from its course by a passenger and is subject to attachment by virtue of judicial proceedings instituted by a party concerned." The Cuban letter stated that a preventive attachment order had been issued by a Cuban court against Eastern Airlines Company on behalf of the *Empresa Cubana de Importaciones*. Furthermore, the letter stated that the Cuban Government had requested the Cuban firm to withdraw its claim and had resolved to place the Electra "within the jurisdiction of the Security Council so that that organ, which is responsible for watching over world peace, may take whatever action it thinks proper" thus removing any pretext for military aggression. The letter did not specifically request a Security Council meeting.

The Department of State, on August 2, 1961, issued a press release in which it related its efforts, through the Swiss Government, to effect the return of the hijacked airplane. Moreover, Eastern Airlines had no outstanding obligation to any entity or individual in Cuba of which the U.S. Government was aware. Regarding Cuba's complaint that numerous Cuban aircraft had been attached by legal process in the United States and sold to help satisfy claims of American citizens, the press release called attention to the Secretary of State's July 27, 1961, statement that if property of the Cuban Government arrived in the United States, it could be protected from sale to satisfy a judgment if a timely request was made through diplomatic channels for recognition of sovereign immunity. As an example the State Department release cited a Cuban patrol boat which was recently brought into a United States port by persons fleeing Cuba and for which no request for immunity had been received. "Obviously," the press release stated, "the attempt of the United States Government to secure return of this airplane through normal diplomatic channels cannot constitute a 'serious threat to international peace' or an 'imminent military aggression.'" At the request of the U.S. Representative,

the United Nations circulated the press release to all member states.

On August 4, 1961, the Cuban Representative in a second letter to the President of the Security Council requested a reply to Cuba's decision to place the return of the Electra within the jurisdiction of the Security Council.

Subsequent arrangements were made through diplomatic channels for the return of the Electra aircraft and the Cuban patrol boat. The Council did not meet to consider the Cuban communications.

Consideration by the Sixteenth General Assembly

In a letter of August 8, 1961, Cuba requested the inscription of an item in the agenda of the 16th General Assembly entitled, "Threat to International Peace and Security Arising from New Plans of Aggression and Acts of Intervention Being Executed by the Government of the United States of America against the Revolutionary Government of Cuba." In his explanatory memorandum of August 28, the Cuban Representative alleged that armed bands were ready to launch attacks against Cuba from several Caribbean bases including the Guantanamo naval base. When the General Committee considered the Cuban request on September 21, 1961, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, expressed the view that the charges should be dealt with first by the OAS. However, the United States was prepared to meet the charges in the General Assembly. He proposed that the words "Complaint by Cuba of" be added to the item's title, and this change was recommended by the General Committee and approved by the General Assembly. The reworded item was inscribed in the agenda and allocated to the Political and Security Committee.

During his general debate speech on October 10, Dr. Roa repeated many of the previous charges he had leveled against the United States and added a few new examples of what he called "imminent aggression." The U.S. Representative in exercising his right of reply, denied certain charges and said that the balance would be dealt with later.

The first part of the 16th General Assembly adjourned on December 20, 1961, before it had time to consider the Cuban item; it was among the items carried over for consideration at the resumed session in 1962.

Dominican Republic: Cuban Complaint

On November 21, 1961, the Government of Cuba sent a letter to the Security Council requesting an immediate meeting of the Security Council to discuss an alleged threat of armed intervention in the Dominican Republic by the United States. The Cuban letter claimed

that "in deploying ships and aircraft-carriers near the coast of the Dominican Republic, the United States imperialists are attempting . . . to intimidate the Dominican people at the very moment when they have launched a frontal attack against those who hope to retain a system of 'Trujillism' without Trujillo."

The Cuban complaint followed political changes in the Dominican Republic which had led the United States and other members of the Organization of American States (OAS) to recommend the removal of sanctions imposed by the OAS in August 1960 because of the attitude and policies of the Trujillo Government.

Consideration by the Organization of American States (OAS)

In June 1961 a Subcommittee of a Special Committee set up to carry out the responsibilities of the OAS Council with respect to the Dominican Republic, visited the Dominican Republic to observe developments which had taken place in the country subsequent to the overthrow of the Trujillo government. The Subcommittee's report stated that it was too early to determine the degree of change that might have occurred in the character and the policies of the Dominican Republic.

In September the Subcommittee again visited the Dominican Republic. The Subcommittee's report after this visit expressed the opinion that appropriate recognition should be made of the encouraging degree of change in the character and policies of the Dominican Republic Government which had taken place since the Subcommittee's previous report. The report also observed, however, that it was necessary that the course of developments in the Dominican Republic continue to be kept under close and constant observation.

On November 14, 1961, the U.S. Representative on the Special Committee of the OAS stated that recognition should be given to the constructive efforts that had been made by the Government of the Dominican Republic. He proposed withdrawal of the formal indication made on January 4, 1961, that it was desirable to suspend trade with the Dominican Republic in certain items. An important consideration in this problem was the fact that "key figures closely associated with the former regime"—to quote the words of the report—had departed from the country. However, he added, the sanctions imposed in August 1960 on the Dominican Republic by the sixth meeting of Foreign Ministers of the American Republics should not be removed as long as leading figures closely associated with the repressive measures of the former dictatorship continued to be able to dominate the political and economic life of the Dominican Republic.

Shortly after this meeting, two of these leading figures, members of the Trujillo family, returned to the Dominican Republic from their brief sojourn abroad. As a result of this development, which clearly

appeared to be a backward step, the U.S. Representatives recommended postponement of a decision regarding the date on which the Special Committee of the OAS would vote on the U.S. proposal—a recommendation which was accepted by the Committee.

On November 18 the Secretary of State of the United States issued the following statement:

> It has been confirmed that leading figures who were closely associated with the repressive measures of the former dictatorship in the Dominican Republic and who had departed from that country returned to Ciudad Trujillo on November 15. Moreover, it appears that they may be planning an attempt to reassert dictatorial domination of the political and economic life of that country, threatening the recent gains of the Dominican Government and people towards democratization.
>
> On the recommendation of the United States, the Special Committee of the Organization of American States has already postponed further consideration of a proposal on withdrawing the suspension of trade with the Dominican Republic in certain products. In view of the possibility of political disintegration and the dangerous situation which could ensue, the Government of the United States is considering the further measures that unpredictable events might warrant.

As the political disintegration became manifest, the possibility of an even more dangerous situation increased. The association of the Trujillos with the agents of Castro intensified the danger. Units of the U.S. fleet were then deployed in the area on the high seas of the Caribbean off the shores of the Dominican Republic. This action was undertaken, as the United States later pointed out to both the Security Council and the OAS, "with the full knowledge of the constitutional authorities and responsible leaders of the Dominican Republic."

Security Council Consideration

In response to the Cuban letter to the President of the Security Council on November 21, the Council held three meetings on November 22, 24 and 28. The Security Council meeting of November 22 opened with the Cuban accusation that "it would appear that the Government of the United States is militarily helping Mr. Balaguer [President of the Dominican Republic] in order that the Trujillo family should return to power." The Cuban Representative linked Cuba and the Dominican Republic as "threatened peoples" and demanded that "the Security Council condemn the Government of the United States as the aggressor, and demand the immediate withdrawal of those forces from the coasts of the Dominican Republic." The Cuban complaint was supported only by the Soviet Union, whose Representative accused the United States of intervention in the internal affairs of the Dominican Republic in violation of the U.N. Charter and of the Charter of the OAS.

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The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, rejected the Cuban complaint as an "irresponsible accusation" and suggested that it had been filed "in total ignorance of the facts about the escape from bondage of the Dominican Republic." The Cuban accusation, he stated, was "false and absurd on its face and an unworthy product of any foreign office." The charge that the United States is carrying on a plan of armed intervention in the Dominican Republic, he continued, was "totally without foundation for at no time—at no time, I repeat—have the land, sea, or air forces of the United States been present in the territorial waters or air space of the Dominican Republic. The Cuban charge that our military planes have flown over Dominican territory is totally false." Moreover, he emphasized "the friendly presence of the United States fleet on the high seas of the Caribbean was undertaken with the full knowledge of the constitutional authorities and the responsible leaders of the Dominican Republic who were struggling so valiantly to free the nation from the years of dictatorship." The U.S. Representative reviewed the background of recent events in the Dominican Republic and noted that the Dominican Government itself did not believe that its peace and security had been in danger and that it was strange that the complaint, if it had any foundation, should have been lodged by Cuba rather than the Representative of the Dominican Government. He suggested that the real motive of the Cuban Government in bringing the complaint was to serve its own propaganda objectives, to turn the friendship of the Dominican people to the United States to hostility, and to obscure in the eyes of the Dominican people and in the minds of the world the great step forward the Dominicans had taken with the moral support of friendly, democratic nations.

The Dominican Representative, Sánchez y Sánchez, stated that he was awaiting instructions before intervening in the substance of the discussion but reminded Cuba that the Dominican Republic was a sovereign and independent country which did not need Cuba as a champion. He stated that he did not believe that Cuba was helping the cause of peace or assisting the Council "when it brings before this Council a new scandal using the Dominican Republic as a pretext in its quarrel with the United States."

On November 24, at the second meeting of the Council on the Cuban accusation, the Dominican Representative stated that there was no evidence that "can be construed as interference on the part of the United States in the domestic affairs or the foreign affairs of the Dominican Republic. On the other hand, my government wishes most emphatically to inform the Security Council that on the part of the United States, there has been and is full respect for our national

sovereignty. We want it clearly understood that, if directly or indirectly our sovereignty suffered in any way, this would have brought a legitimate protest by my government which would not have appeared before the Council without having utilized all of the methods set forth in the juridical regional organization represented by the Organization of American States and in many other regional organizations. . . ." The Representative of the Dominican Republic declared on behalf of his government "that the units of the U.S. fleet off our coast have not violated international law, since they have not carried out any type of incursion within our territorial waters." The Dominican Government had no reason to doubt that the U.S. naval units had been stationed in the Caribbean in order to prevent invasion prepared in Cuba or other countries with Communist assistance. The presence of the American fleet in the waters of the Caribbean, he noted, "has been most healthy not only for the Dominican Republic but for all the Caribbean area." He also reported that the Cuban radio was attempting to incite the people of the Dominican Republic against their democratic government. Associating himself with these views was the Alternate Representative of the Dominican Republic to the Security Council, Bonilla Atiles, of the National Civic Union, the largest opposition political party in the Dominican Republic. "At this historic moment," he stated, "America has been given a chance to assist our democratic forces to carry out a Dominican revolution, thereby avoiding this inexorable need being supplanted by forces supported by foreign ideologies, doctrines which do not belong in the American continent. . . . The extermination of the Dominican people has been ghastly. But today that extermination ceases, and the American fleet helped to stop it. Then that being the case, I say blessed be the moment when the American fleet came to Dominican waters."

On November 28 at the third and final meeting of the Security Council discussion of the Cuban accusation, the Representatives of Ceylon, the United Arab Republic, Chile, Ecuador, and Liberia spoke for the first time. None associated himself with the Cuban complaint. The United Arab Republic spoke against intervention and Ceylon called for United States-Cuban conciliation. Liberia noted that there was no dispute between the Government of the United States and the Government of the Dominican Republic and therefore felt that there was no occasion for the application of article 34 of the U.N. Charter as expressed in the Cuban complaint. Moreover, Liberia expressed its full confidence that the OAS would be responsive to the demands of the occasion. Chile supported the statement made by the Representative of the United States, noted the "political purpose inherent in the Cuban complaint," and rejected the Cuban complaint as invalid and not "worthy of serious consideration by the Council." Ecuador noted that the regional system of the OAS is not contradictory to nor in

conflict with the United Nations and that there were "no grounds to continue a debate on this subject, a subject which is at present being considered and looked into by the Organization of American States."

The Dominican Representative repeated that there was no substance in the Cuban complaint and that the U.S. vessels were lying along the Dominican coast outside territorial waters "with the full knowledge of the Dominican Government. They are welcomed by the Dominican Government. They have done nothing to impair our sovereignty and we are gratified by their vigilance."

In a short statement which quoted the two Dominican Republic Representatives, the U.S. Representative stated that the Council had already deliberated far too long about the Cuban complaint "about an intervention that never took place" and summarized the U.S. position as follows:

> The policy and the purposes of the United States have been made perfectly clear. My Government is opposed to dictatorship, be it dictatorship of the right or of the left, in this hemisphere, and has tried to give moral encouragement to those forces in the Dominican Republic who are attempting to restore normal democratic processes in an orderly and a peaceful way. We admire the character and the ability shown by the Dominican leaders in bringing this about. We are, frankly, proud that the moral support of the United States aided in these accomplishments.

The Security Council concluded the debate without action and, considering the examination of the question as completed, adjourned.

Goa

In a series of letters to the President of the Security Council beginning in September, 1961, Portugal informed the Council that the Portuguese territories of Goa, Damão, and Diu on the Indian subcontinent were being threatened. In its letter of September 6, 1961, Portugal stated "a threat to recourse to armed aggression has been made, with the utilization of the Indian Army itself, and that such a threat was made by the Prime Minister of the Indian Union." On December 8, Portugal informed the Security Council that India had launched a violent campaign of false charges and Indian troops were being concentrated on the frontier. On December 11, Portugal notified the Council that it considered an attack imminent and on December 16 suggested that a group of observers be sent to Indian-Portuguese frontiers to prevent troop movements across the borders. The Portuguese Representative, on December 18, reported that the build-up of armed forces had been followed by a full-scale unprovoked armed attack on Goa, Damão, and Diu. He requested an immediate meeting of the Security Council to order a cease-fire and the withdrawal of the invading forces.

In three letters dated December 12 and 13, the Indian Representative replied that the Portuguese territories were a problem involving the elimination of the vestiges of colonial rule on the Indian subcontinent. He cited two resolutions of the 15th General Assembly, by which the Assembly, *inter alia*, declared that the subjection of peoples to alien domination and any attempt to disrupt partially or totally the national unity and territorial integrity of a country was contrary to the U.N. Charter, and that Portugal's overseas territories were non-self-governing territories under chapter XI of the Charter (rather than "provinces of Portugal"). Unlike France, which after negotiations, had turned over to India its territories on the subcontinent, Portugal refused to discuss the termination of its administration. India asserted, moreover, that Portuguese rule was characterized by repression and brutality. Portugal had fired on an Indian passenger ship and had attacked Indian villages and citizens, according to the Indian Representative. Concerning the alleged concentration of Indian troops on the borders of the Portuguese territories, India had been compelled to strengthen its defenses as a result of Portugal's reinforcement of its troops and navy. Finally, the Indian Representative declared Portugal's charges to be "complete fabrications" intended to cover Portugal's aggressive maneuvers.

The Security Council met on December 18 to consider Portugal's complaint of "premeditated Indian aggression" in its letter of that date. The Representative of the Soviet Union objected to the adoption of the agenda on the ground that the question fell exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of India and that the territories were "only provisionally under the colonial administration of Portugal."

After the President of the Council, Ambassador Loutfi of the United Arab Republic, expressed his country's reservations concerning Portugal's letter, the Council adopted the agenda by a vote of 7 (Chile, China, Ecuador, France, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States) to 2 (Ceylon, U.S.S.R.), with 2 (Liberia, United Arab Republic) abstentions. Portugal and India were invited to participate in the debate.

The Portuguese Representative, in his speech, stated that at midnight (local time) on December 18 Indian troops with tanks and artillery entered Goa, Damão and Diu, supported by naval and air force units. He referred to numerous appeals against the use of force which had been made among others, by the President of the United States, the Governments of the United Kingdom and Brazil, and the U.N. Secretary-General, U Thant. In response to U Thant's December 14 appeal to the Prime Ministers of Portugal and India for negotiations, Portugal had replied that it would negotiate on international guarantees for the security of India since India had alleged Goa was a threat to its security. The Portuguese Representative said

that fighting was taking place as he spoke, and he called for an immediate end to the aggression.

The Indian Representative rejected the Portuguese charges. He stated that the tenet of international law which said that the colonial powers had sovereign rights over the territories which they won by conquest in Asia and Africa was no longer applicable. This was a European concept which must die. Portugal had forcibly occupied part of India 450 years ago and had consistently refused to negotiate the surrender of the territory to India. He claimed that Portugal's reply to the U.N. Secretary-General's appeal was beside the point since negotiation for peaceful coexistence was not involved, but rather steps to transfer all powers to the people as required by the 15th General Assembly's Declaration on Colonialism. The initial occupation was illegal then and was therefore illegal now. This was a question of colonialism and freedom.

The Indian Representative charged Portugal with numerous provocations. He said it had been necessary to use the Indian army to assist Goan patriots because Portugal was supported by the NATO countries. The reason more had not been heard of the Goan patriotic movement was because Portugal ruthlessly suppressed it in its territories. Goa was part of India and the inhabitants were Indian. Anyone who claimed that this was a question of aggression was going against the tide of history and the entire thesis of the United Nations today which said that colonialism could no longer be tolerated.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, said that what was at stake was not colonialism, but a violation of the U.N. Charter which obligated all members to refrain from the threat or use of force in their international relations. After recalling that the United States had opposed the use of force in Korea in 1950, in Suez and in Hungary in 1956, in the Congo in 1960, the U.S. Representative said that the United States did so in Goa in 1961. The Security Council was not meeting to decide the merits of this case but to bring the dispute from the battlefield to the negotiating table. He stressed that there was not one law for one part of the world and another law for the rest of the world. There was one law for the whole world, and the Council had the duty to uphold it.

The U.K. Representative said that while his Government understood the desire of the Indian people to incorporate these territories and their impatience because Portugal had not followed the example of France and Great Britain, it deeply deplored India's decision to use military force to achieve its political objectives. The United Kingdom thought the Council should call for a cessation of hostilities and for negotiations. Next, India should withdraw its forces. Thirdly, India and Portugal should be encouraged to work out a peaceful solution.

The Representative of Liberia expressed the fear that the Council might be drawn into a false debate on the basis of Portugal's letter. He explained that according to the 15th General Assembly resolution (referred to above), Goa and the other enclaves were declared non-self-governing territories and, therefore, were not part of Portugal. Liberia regretted that the situation had deteriorated to the point where it was necessary to pacify a situation resulting from Portuguese intransigence.

The Turkish Representative said his country could not condone the use of force to settle international disputes. The statement by India that international law was made by Europeans with the implication that it could be transgressed by others was also unacceptable. "The Charter of the United Nations was the result of common efforts by all the founding members, including India, and in any case, it has been signed and ratified by all its members as the only hope of saving humanity from the disasters of war," he said.

The Representative of the Soviet Union said that this was a question of colonialism, Portugal had failed to carry out the Declaration on Colonialism and the United States had applied a double standard. When it came to assisting colonial peoples in their struggle for independence, the United States applied the standard of a colonial power. After having voted for resolutions recalling the Declaration, the United States assisted colonial empires and condemned those fighting for the Declaration. When the United States enumerated instances when it opposed the use of force, it neglected to mention Lebanon, Cuba, Bizerte, and the Dominican Republic. The Council should apply sanctions against Portugal in order to force it to comply with the Declaration on Colonialism, the Soviet Representative urged.

Speaking in his capacity as the Representative of the United Arab Republic, Ambassador Loutfi declared that his country could not subscribe to the legal fiction that the enclaves formed an integral part of the Portuguese state. In this case, there had not been an act of aggression. The problem should have been solved by negotiations in accordance with the Charter and the two 15th General Assembly resolutions (referred to earlier). Unfortunately, Portugal had not been willing to do so.

Ceylon, the Representative of Ceylon said, considered that India had simply liberated a portion of its national territory unlawfully held by a foreign country. Ceylon could not call on India to negotiate or to withdraw from Goa nor could India be censured for invading its own land. Instead of asking for a cease-fire, the Ceylonese Representative urged the United States, as a friend of Portugal, to ask Portugal to change its intransigent attitude.

At the conclusion of the afternoon session, the U.S. Representative suggested that, in view of the urgency of the situation, the next meet-

ing of the Security Council take place that evening. The Representatives of Liberia and Ceylon supported by the Representative of the Soviet Union requested a delay of at least 24 hours in order to receive instructions. It was decided by a vote of 7 to 3 (Ceylon, Liberia, U.S.S.R.) to hold an evening meeting. The United Arab Republic did not participate in the voting.

At the evening session, the Representatives of France, China, Ecuador, and Chile expressed their countries' opposition to the use of force and called for a cease-fire.

In a second intervention, the Portuguese Representative explained in detail that there was no question involving colonialism in this case since the territories were politically and legally an integral part of the Portuguese nation. He said that a big country had perpetrated a dastardly crime involving brutal violence against a peaceful and virtually defenseless population in order to distract attention from the difficulties experienced with another big country which the Indian Union feared.

In his reply, the Representative of India said that he could not accept a resolution calling on both parties to work out a solution by peaceful means. Since Portugal refused to implement the Declaration on Colonialism there was no basis for discussion, he argued. Moreover, he said, the only question was when and how Goa became a member of the Indian Union, and this Portugal would not consider. The Indian Representative quoted Prime Minister Nehru's December 18 statement: "India has undertaken action in Goa as there was no other alternative left to her. It was no pleasure to us to undertake armed action, but the Portuguese left no choice open to us."

The U.S. Representative in his second intervention rejected any implication that the United States was not really anticolonial unless it approved of the abolition of the colonies by armed attack. "We are against colonialism, and we are against war. We are for the Charter," he declared. Concerning the fact that Goa had been declared a non-self-governing territory did not place it under Indian sovereignty. India could not use force lawfully, especially when the peaceful means in the Charter had not been exhausted. As for the Declaration on Colonialism, the United States supported it and hoped that it would be intelligently carried out. However, it did not, should not and could not, under the Charter, authorize the use of force in its implementation. After calling attention to the Soviet Union's doctrine that wars of liberation or Communist revolutions were permissible, the U.S. Representative declared that a war of liberation from colonialism was as likely as any other to lead to a world conflagration.

The United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Turkey introduced a draft resolution which, after recalling article 2 of the Charter

(which requires all members to refrain from the threat or use of force) and deploring India's use of force in Goa, Damão, and Diu, would have had the Council: (1) call for an immediate cessation of hostilities; (2) call on India to withdraw its forces immediately to positions before December 17; (3) urge the parties to work out a permanent solution of their differences by peaceful means in accordance with the principles in the Charter; and (4) request the Secretary-General to provide appropriate assistance.

Ceylon, Liberia, and the United Arab Republic introduced a draft resolution by which the Security Council, after having heard Portugal's complaint of aggression, and India's statement that the problem is a colonial problem, and considering that the enclaves claimed by Portugal in India constitute a threat to international peace and security and stand in the way of the unity of the Republic of India, and recalling General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1542 (XV), would have: (1) decided to reject Portugal's complaint of Indian aggression; (2) called on Portugal to terminate hostile action and to cooperate with India in the liquidation of Portugal's colonial possessions in India. In introducing the resolution, the Representative of Ceylon declared that the Declaration on Colonialism was "the categorical imperative of our age." The draft resolution, he asserted, placed issues in their proper light.

Liberia proposed an adjournment until 3 p.m., December 19. The U.S. Representative opposed the motion and urged that a decision be taken on the two draft resolutions. The Liberian adjournment motion failed of adoption by a vote of 4 (Ceylon, Liberia, United Arab Republic, U.S.S.R.) to 0, with 7 abstentions.

The Representative of the Soviet Union stated that he would oppose the resolution introduced by the United States, United Kingdom, France, and Turkey. The provisions of the Charter cited in the draft resolution were to be observed as a general principle by all members; however, "these provisions cannot be a basis for the adoption of a decision when the matter involves liquidation of colonial possessions and of colonial empires."

The draft resolution introduced by Ceylon, Liberia, and the United Arab Republic failed of adoption by a vote of 4 (Ceylon, Liberia, U.A.R., U.S.S.R.) to 7 (Chile, China, Ecuador, France, Turkey, U.K., U.S.). The draft resolution sponsored by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Turkey was vetoed by the Soviet Union. The vote was 7 (Chile, China, Ecuador, France, Turkey, U.K., U.S.) to 4 (Ceylon, Liberia, U.A.R., U.S.S.R.).

The U.S. Representative in a third intervention expressed concern that the Council was witnessing the first act in a drama which could end in the death of the United Nations. He reminded the Council that the League of Nations had died when its members no longer

resisted the use of aggressive force. "The failure of the Security Council to call for a cease-fire tonight in these simple circumstances is a failure of the United Nations," he said. The Security Council had witnessed an effort to rewrite the U.N. Charter to sanction the use of force when it suited one's own purposes. Such an approach could only lead to chaos and the disintegration of the United Nations. The United States appealed again to India to abandon the use of force. The inability of the Security Council to act because of the Soviet veto did not alter the fact that the Charter prescribed negotiation of differences.

Hungary

The brutal suppression of the Hungarian national uprising in 1956, the massive intervention of Soviet armed forces on that occasion, and the continued imprisonment by the Hungarian regime of many of the participants in the revolt since that time have been the causes for repeated action by the General Assembly. This action has taken various forms. The Assembly has passed a series of resolutions censuring the Soviet and Hungarian Governments for their part in the suppression of the uprising as well as for their noncompliance with U.N. resolutions seeking to ameliorate the plight of the Hungarian people. In addition, the General Assembly appointed a special committee and two special representatives to look into conditions in Hungary relating to the revolt and circulated and discussed their reports. Finally, the General Assembly made it a practice after 1956 to take "no decision" on the credentials of the Hungarian delegates. As a result the representatives of the Hungarian regime have since that time been seated on a provisional basis only.

All these considerations affecting the Hungarian problem remained during the resumed session of the 15th General Assembly in April 1961 and the regular session of the 16th General Assembly in the fall of 1961. The Hungarian item, which had been inscribed in the agenda of the 15th General Assembly on October 10, 1960, was carried over into the resumed session in the spring of 1961. On April 15, 1961, the United States together with Canada, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Malaya, France, Guatemala, Honduras, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Philippines, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom, Uruguay, and Venezuela submitted a draft resolution on the Hungarian question, which was subsequently cosponsored also by Italy. Its two operative paragraphs drew attention to the report submitted by the U.N. Representative on Hungary, Sir Leslie Munro, and deplored "the continued disregard by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the present

Hungarian regime of the General Assembly resolutions concerning the situation in Hungary." Because of the pressure of other business, however, the 15th General Assembly did not debate the Hungarian item at its resumed session. In the concluding meeting of this session on April 21, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, expressed profound disappointment "that this session has not been able to turn its full attention to this question." The U.S. Representative specifically invited the attention of all members of the Assembly to the report of the U.N. Representative on the Hungarian question, and thanked Sir Leslie Munro for his "steadfast endeavors."

Three days before the opening of the 16th regular session of the General Assembly, the U.S. Representative on September 16, 1961, by letter to the Secretary-General, requested that "The question of Hungary" be inscribed in the agenda as an important and urgent item. In justification of this request, he pointed out in a written memorandum accompanying his letter, that during the course of the intervening year between the 15th and 16th sessions, the situation in Hungary had remained substantially unchanged.

When the Assembly's General Committee took up the U.S. proposal for consideration on September 21 and 22, 1961, the U.N. Representative on Hungary asked permission to participate in the discussions. The U.S.S.R., supported by Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, opposed this request, but the Committee adopted by a vote of 17 to 3, a U.S. motion to invite the U.N. Representative on Hungary to take a place at the Committee table during the discussion of the item. In countering the usual Soviet-bloc charges that inscription of the question of Hungary on the agenda of the General Assembly constituted interference in the domestic affairs of Hungary and was designed to prolong the cold war, U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, explained that the United States had desired this item to be included, "first because of the Hungarian Government's continued refusal to abide by General Assembly resolutions; secondly, because the Hungarian authorities had refused to grant fundamental freedoms and human rights to the people of Hungary; and thirdly, because the inclusion of the item at the present session would rectify the Assembly's omission at the fifteenth session." By a vote of 15 (U.S.) to 3 (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, U.S.S.R.), with 2 (Ghana, Niger) abstentions, the General Committee recommended to the General Assembly the inclusion of the item in the agenda.

On September 25, 1961, the General Assembly, after hearing the Representatives of the United States and Hungary state their countries' views on the subject, decided to place the Hungarian item on the agenda by a vote of 51 (U.S.) to 15 (Soviet bloc (9), and Ceylon, Cuba, Guinea, Indonesia, Mali, Yugoslavia), with 30 abstentions.

Two days later, the item was allocated to the General Assembly for discussion.

The U.N. Representative on Hungary circulated copies of his report to the 16th General Assembly on December 1, 1961. In this report, Sir Leslie Munro cited details of repressive practices to which the people of Hungary continue to be subjected, called attention to the continued presence of Soviet troops in Hungary and to the persistent refusal of Soviet and Hungarian authorities to cooperate with the United Nations on this question. The Representative on Hungary concluded that: "The question of Hungary stands as the outstanding question in respect of which the principles of the Charter have been flagrantly violated and in which the Government and authorities responsible repudiate any obligation to answer to the United Nations for their action or to take any steps which would enable the Organization to progress towards the achievement of its objectives." The Hungarian delegation registered its customary protest against Sir Leslie Munro's report in a letter to the U.N. Secretary-General of December 12, 1961, and asked him to circulate a counterstatement.

On December 18, 1961, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Malaya, France, Guatemala, Italy, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Philippines, Spain, United Kingdom, United States, and Uruguay resubmitted to the 16th General Assembly a draft resolution identical to the one they had previously introduced in the resumed session of the 15th General Assembly. Just prior to adjournment at the last meeting of its regular session on December 20, 1961, the Assembly adopted this resolution by a vote of 49 in favor (Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dahomey, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Malaya, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Laos, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Pakistan, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, U.K., U.S., Uruguay, and Venezuela), 17 against (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Ceylon, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Guinea, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Mali, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia), and 32 abstentions (Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Cameroun, Central African Republic, Congo (Léopoldville), Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, India, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Mauritania, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, U.A.R., Upper Volta, and Yemen).

During the debate that preceded the voting, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, cited the reasons that once

again compelled the General Assembly to consider "what can be done to secure the co-operation of the Soviet and Hungarian Governments with a view to effecting an amelioration of the situation of the Hungarian people," and appealed to both governments "to co-operate in good faith with the United Nations in its efforts to resolve the Hungarian problem and promote justice for the Hungarian people."

The U.S. Representative was seconded in this appeal by the Representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Patrick Dean, who called for "a general amnesty to all participants in the 1956 uprising" and indicated that "such a gesture on the part of the Hungarian Government would undoubtedly be regarded by all Members of the Assembly as an important step towards improving relations between Hungary and the United Nations." The Hungarian and Soviet Representatives, however, adhered to the position that discussion of the Hungarian question should be dropped since in their view it constituted interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign state and promoted discord among nations in violation of the principles of the U.N. Charter.

The General Assembly also took "no decision" on the credentials of the Hungarian delegation. The matter of Hungarian credentials came up three times in the course of 1961: (1) during the resumed session of the 15th General Assembly in April; (2) at the third special session of the General Assembly in August; and (3) during the regular session of the 16th General Assembly in December. On all three occasions a U.S. motion to take "no decision concerning the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of Hungary", was approved, first in a meeting of the Credentials Committee, and subsequently in a plenary meeting of the General Assembly.

Korea

During 1961 the Korean Armistice Agreement, concluded in July 1953, remained in effect and the Military Armistice Commission (MAC) continued to meet. As they had done in previous years, the Communists sought to utilize the MAC meetings to raise political and propaganda issues outside the scope of the Commission's responsibility. These efforts were blocked by the representatives of the U.N. Command (UNC) who also effectively refuted Communist charges concerning violations of the Armistice Agreement.

The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK), consisting of representatives of Australia, Chile, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey, also continued its work in 1961 functioning primarily—as it has done since 1956—through a Committee consisting of repre-

sentatives of Australia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey. The Committee's headquarters is at Seoul, Korea.

Consideration in the Resumed Session of the Fifteenth General Assembly

The Korean question, which was placed on the provisional agenda of the 15th session in accordance with a resolution adopted by the 14th General Assembly, was considered during the resumed session of the 15th General Assembly.

When the Political and Security Committee opened its debate on the Korean question on April 10, 1961, it had before it the report of UNCURK covering the period from August 11, 1959 (the date of the Commission's last report) to August 20, 1960.

The UNCURK report took note of the student demonstrations in the Republic of Korea of April 1960, the subsequent resignation of President Syngman Rhee and the establishment of an interim Government under the auspices of which, after the adoption of constitutional amendments, elections had been held in July for the National Assembly. Thereafter a new Government was formed under Prime Minister Chang Myon. The report also noted the continued rejection by the Communist authorities in north Korea of United Nations principles for the unification of Korea as contrasted with the position of the Republic of Korea, exemplified by a number of statements made by the Prime Minister of the interim Government rejecting unification by the use of force and accepting the principles set forth in U.N. resolutions.

The Political and Security Committee began its debate by considering two draft resolutions concerning the question of seating representatives of the Republic of Korea and the north Korean regime: a U.S. draft resolution under which the Committee would have invited representatives of the Republic of Korea to participate in the discussion without the right to vote; and a Soviet draft resolution under which the Committee would extend its invitation to the north Korean regime as well as to the Republic of Korea, "recognizing that there can be no fruitful discussion of the Korean question without the participation of representatives" of both.

Speaking in support of the U.S. draft resolution, U.S. Representative Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson recalled the establishment of the Republic of Korea in 1948 through free elections and under U.N. auspices, its recognition by the United Nations as the only legitimate government in Korea, and its consistent support of the principles adopted by the United Nations with respect to the Korean question. On the other hand, the U.S. Representative pointed out, the regime in north Korea had been set up after the Communist authorities had refused to admit U.N. representatives to the area under their control,

had launched an unprovoked attack on the Republic of Korea in 1950 which had occasioned the U.N.'s first collective action to repel aggression, and had repeatedly denied the competence of the United Nations.

In response to a proposal by the Representative of Indonesia that the U.S. draft resolution be amended to invite a representative of north Korea as well as the Republic of Korea, the U.S. Representative reiterated the fundamental differences between the Republic of Korea and the north Korean regime, emphasizing the fallacy of the view that both parties to the dispute were entitled to be heard in the United Nations when one of the parties had repeatedly defied the United Nations and denied its competence. He therefore proposed an amendment to the Indonesian amendment, inviting the north Korean regime but only provided that it "first unequivocally accepts the competence and authority of the United Nations within the terms of the Charter to take action on the Korean question as the Republic of Korea has already done."

After further debate, the seating question was brought to a vote on April 12. The Indonesian amendment as amended by the United States was adopted by 59 to 14, with 23 abstentions and the U.S. draft resolution as amended was adopted by the same vote.

The Soviet Representative then submitted a motion calling for adjournment of the debate on Korea until receipt of the north Korean reply. This motion was rejected by a vote of 52 (U.S.) to 28, with 11 abstentions. At the meeting of the Committee on April 14 the Representative of Japan, recalling the terms of the Committee's invitation, proposed the immediate seating of the Representative of the Republic of Korea. Despite Soviet-bloc efforts to prevent a vote on this question by means of a variety of parliamentary tactics, the Japanese proposal was adopted by a vote of 44 (U.S.) to 15 (Soviet bloc (9), and Ceylon, Cuba, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Morocco), with 18 (Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Finland, Ghana, India, Jordan, Libya, Mali, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Venezuela, Yemen, Yugoslavia) abstentions.

On April 17, the United Nations received the reply to the Committee's invitation to the north Korean authorities. Characterizing the Committee's resolution as "unjust" and "shameful" and describing U.N. collective security measures in Korea as an aggressive war, the regime declared that the "Korean question can be settled only by the Koreans themselves" and announced that it would not recognize "any unjust resolution adopted in the United Nations without the participation and approval of its representative." The pressure of other business precluded Committee consideration of the north Korean response, as well as of the substantive resolution reaffirming U.N. objectives in Korea tabled by the United States and 12 other states, before its adjournment on April 21, 1961. Accordingly, the

Committee recommended to the General Assembly that consideration of the item be adjourned until the 16th General Assembly.

On April 22 the United States and the Republic of Korea issued a joint statement declaring that the north Korean response not only failed to accept unequivocally U.N. competence and authority but also reiterated north Korean defiance of the United Nations.

Discussion at the Sixteenth Session

Discussion of the Korean question at the 16th General Assembly began in the Political and Security Committee on December 12, 1961. Before the opening of debate, two UNCURK reports had been submitted to the General Assembly. One covered the period from September 18, 1960, to September 11, 1961; the second, a supplement, covered certain developments thereafter.

In its first report, the Commission took note of the transfer of power, on May 16, 1961, from the government of Prime Minister Chang Myon to a military revolutionary committee (subsequently retitled Supreme Council for National Reconstruction—SCNR) organized by elements of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Korea. Although recognizing the freedom that had been established under the Chang Myon government, the fairness with which it had conducted national and local elections, and the emphasis it had placed on economic stabilization and development, the Commission also observed that, owing particularly to political factionalism, progress toward the attainment of the government's objectives had been slow. The Commission's concern over the substitution of military for civilian government was reflected in its decision of June 4, 1961, to authorize its members to express, in their informal contacts with the ruling authorities, their individual concern with regard to the preservation of democratic institutions. Thereafter, the Commission reported, UNCURK itself conferred with government leaders, as did its individual members, drawing attention to UNCURK's concern over the preservation of democratic institutions and the desirability of the earliest possible return to representative government. In this connection, the report noted the statements made by government leaders affirming their intention of restoring civilian control and particularly the announcement by General Chung Hee Park, Chairman of the SCNR, on August 2, 1961, that civilian government would be restored in 1963 following the promulgation of a new constitution and the holding of a general election. Observing however, that numerous arrests had been made since May 15 on which adequate information had not yet become available, the Commission announced that it would submit a supplementary report on this subject. In this supplementary report, signed at Seoul on December 4, 1961, the Commission stated that, of those detained on political grounds, the

majority—including former Prime Minister Chang Myon—had been released and expressed its hope that the spirit of moderation thus demonstrated by the Government would continue.

Regarding U.N. objectives with respect to the peaceful reunification of Korea, the Commission once again called attention to the continued absence of any indications that the north Korean authorities were prepared to accept these objectives as reflected in General Assembly resolutions. Republic of Korea government leaders in contrast, both civilian and military, had clearly accepted the competence and authority of the United Nations in the Korean question and rejected the unification of Korea by force, most recently, as the UNCURK supplementary report noted, in statements made by General Park on United Nations Day, October 24, 1961, and in the joint communique issued on November 14, 1961, following General Park's talks with President Kennedy.

The first question considered by the Political and Security Committee when it opened its debates on the Korean item was again that of seating representatives of the Republic of Korea and the north Korean regime. On this question, the Committee had before it two draft resolutions: one, submitted by Outer Mongolia, invited representatives of the Republic of Korea and the north Korean regime to take part in the discussion of the Korean question without right of vote; the other, submitted by the United States, recalling that the north Korean regime had failed to accept U.N. competence as required by the Committee's decision in April, confined this invitation to representatives of the Republic of Korea. In addition, Greece and Thailand submitted an amendment to the Mongolian draft resolution. This amendment, recalling the conditions with respect to north Korean participation adopted by the Political and Security Committee during the resumed session of the 15th General Assembly and noting that the Republic of Korea had repeatedly accepted these conditions, required the north Korean regime, as a prerequisite to its seating, to accept unequivocally the competence and authority of the United Nations within the terms of the Charter to take action on the Korean question.

In presenting his draft resolution, the Mongolian Representative argued that the amendment proposed by Greece and Thailand was discriminatory and contrary to the principles of the Charter which, he asserted, the north Korean regime had announced its willingness to accept.

In response the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, reminded the Committee of the special relationship between the United Nations and the Republic of Korea, the aggressive war carried on for 3 years by the north Korean regime against the United Nations, and

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north Korea's continued defiance of the United Nations including its response to the Committee's invitation of April 1961. "It seems to us," the U.S. Representative declared, that the only conclusion to be drawn from the Mongolian proposal "is that representatives of north Korea would be invited to participate in our discussions in order to frustrate them, would be invited to participate not in order to help us to take action, but in order to prevent our taking action." The U.S. Representative also stated that, since the Greek-Thai amendment was along the lines of that adopted by the Committee in April 1961, the United States would vote for it, and if adopted, would vote for the resolution as amended. Adoption of the amended resolution would make it unnecessary to vote on the U.S. draft resolution.

The vote on the Greek-Thai amendment on December 13 was taken in two stages. The first vote was taken on the clause "noting that the Republic of Korea had repeatedly stated its acceptance of these conditions." This clause was approved by 58 (U.S.) to 1 (Cuba), with 38 abstentions. The second vote was taken on the paragraphs requiring north Korea to accept U.N. competence. These were adopted by a vote of 60 (U.S.) to 17, with 22 abstentions. The Mongolian resolution as amended was then adopted by a vote of 63 (U.S.) to 18 (Soviet bloc (10), and Afghanistan, China, Cuba, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Mali, Yugoslavia), with 19 (Austria, Burma, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, India, Israel, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Republic) abstentions.

Immediately following the vote, the Chairman seated the Representative of the Republic of Korea, Foreign Minister Duk Shin Choi. The Korean Representative, in his speech on the following day, reiterated his Government's hope that Korea might be unified peacefully through free elections under U.N. supervision and reminded the Committee that on two occasions—in 1949 and 1957—the General Assembly had expressed its view that the Republic of Korea should be admitted to the United Nations.

On December 19, the north Korean regime submitted a defiant response to the Committee's resolution of December 13. Characterizing the resolution as an "unjustified and shameful act," the regime again stated that the question of Korean unification should be settled only by the Koreans themselves and "is by no means a question to be discussed at the United Nations." Despite efforts, principally by representatives of the Soviet Union and other Communist bloc countries, to demonstrate that this answer satisfied the requirements laid down in the Committee's December 13 resolution and despite bloc efforts to delay a vote (including a proposal that debate be adjourned until the resumed session in 1962, which was rejected by 41 (U.S.) to 20, with

24 abstentions), the Committee adopted a resolution, proposed by the United States, deciding that the communication from the north Korean regime provided no basis for seating its representative. This decision was taken by a vote of 54 to 17 (Soviet bloc (10), and Afghanistan, Cuba, Ghana, Indonesia, Iraq, Mali, Yugoslavia), with 22 (Austria, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Finland, India, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Yemen) abstentions.

The Committee then proceeded to debate the substance of the Korean item. It had before it three draft resolutions. Two of these were directed against the U.N. role in Korea: one, submitted by Outer Mongolia, called for the removal of foreign forces from the Republic of Korea; the other, submitted by the Soviet Union, called for the dissolution of UNCURK. The third draft resolution was submitted jointly by the following 15 nations: Australia, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, France, Greece, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Philippines, South Africa, Thailand, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States, all of which had contributed forces to the U.N. defense of the Republic of Korea against Communist aggression. This draft resolution, noting the UNCURK report, reaffirming the Assembly's previous resolutions on the question of Korea, noting that U.N. forces have in greater part already been withdrawn and that the Governments concerned are prepared to withdraw those remaining when General Assembly conditions for a lasting settlement have been fulfilled, and recalling that the United Nations under the Charter is empowered to take collective action to repel aggression, to restore peace and security, and to extend its good offices in seeking a peaceful solution, reaffirmed U.N. objectives in Korea, urged continuing efforts to achieve these objectives, and requested UNCURK to continue its work.

Once again the Representative of the Soviet Union asserted that the obstacle to reunification of Korea was not the position of the north Korean regime—whose allegedly democratic government and flourishing economy he compared with what he described as bloody dictatorship and deep suffering in the Republic of Korea—but the aggressive and imperialist policies of the United States. Accordingly, he argued, the only respect in which the United Nations had jurisdiction in the Korean question was in its obligation to require the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea; the unification of Korea, he said, is an internal affair of the Korean people. In rebuttal, the Representative of the United States recalled the role that had been played by the Soviet Union in forcing the division between the two halves of the Korean peninsula, outlined the basis for U.N.

jurisdiction in the Korean question beginning in 1947, and rebutted the charges made by the U.S.S.R. against the Republic of Korea. Finally, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, pointed out, even more was at stake in this issue than the fate of 35 million Korean people; the United Nations action in Korea had demonstrated that in union there was strength, had provided the precedent for U.N. action in the Middle East in 1956 and in the Congo in 1960, and "may prove to have been the beginning of an international security system which will give all small nations the peace and security they so evidently desire."

After further debate, the 15-power resolution was adopted by the Political and Security Committee by 55 to 11, with 20 abstentions and thereafter in the General Assembly on December 20, by a vote of 60 (U.S.) to 11 (Soviet bloc (10) and Cuba), with 27 (Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Yemen, Yugoslavia) abstentions.

The Soviet and Mongolian representatives did not press their draft resolutions to a vote.

Kuwait: Complaints by the Governments of Kuwait and Iraq

On July 1, 1961, the State Secretary of Kuwait, on behalf of the Ruler, requested in a letter to the President of the Security Council that the Council urgently consider the "complaint by Kuwait in respect of the situation arising from threats by Iraq to the territorial independence of Kuwait, which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security"—a request that the United Kingdom supported. The following day the Representative of Iraq requested that the Council be called to consider the "complaint by the Government of the Republic of Iraq in respect of the situation arising out of the armed threat by the United Kingdom to the independence and security of Iraq, which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security."

The Council included the above complaints in its agenda at its 957th meeting on July 2, and considered the Kuwait matter also on July 5, 6, and 7. The Representative of the United Kingdom informed the Council that at the urgent and formal request of the Ruler of Kuwait and in accordance with the United Kingdom's obligations to the Ruler, a British force was moved into the state of Kuwait on July 1 and placed at the Ruler's disposal. Her Majesty's Government had announced in London that this force was to afford the Ruler such assistance as he might consider necessary for the pres-

ervation of the independence of Kuwait in the face of recent developments in Iraq. The London statement expressed the hope that it would not prove necessary to make use of this force and indicated the intention to withdraw the force as soon as the Ruler considered that the threat to the independence of Kuwait was over.

The U.K. Representative noted that the state of Kuwait had for some time possessed entire responsibility for the conduct of its own international relations and had joined a number of international organizations as an independent sovereign state. Accordingly, on June 19, 1961, notes were exchanged between the Ruler of Kuwait and the British Political Representative in the Persian Gulf, the effect of which was formally to establish and recognize a state of affairs which had in fact obtained for some time. Iraq had reacted to this development with threats, said the U.K. Representative. On June 25 Prime Minister Qasim asserted that Iraq had decided "to protect the Iraqi people in Kuwait, and to demand all the territory belonging to the Qadha in the Liwa of Basra," that Iraq would issue a decree appointing the present Ruler of Kuwait as District Governor, and that if he were to misbehave he would receive "a severe punishment and be considered a rebel." These remarks, according to the British statement, had been followed by a press and radio campaign from Baghdad designed to undermine the independence and integrity of Kuwait and to publicize claims that Kuwait was part of Iraq. Furthermore, the U.K. Representative stated, reports had circulated that Iraq was preparing to launch an attack against Kuwait. There were considerable Iraqi military forces in the Basra area only 30 miles from the border of Kuwait. As the country is flat and as Iraqi military forces greatly outnumbered Kuwait's military forces, Kuwait could have been invaded in a few hours. The existence of a threat to Kuwait from the attitude and military disposition of Iraq was also recognized by, among others, the Government of the United Arab Republic, the U.K. Representative observed. It could, therefore, be understood why the Ruler had formally requested assistance from the United Kingdom and from Saudi Arabia. He assured the Representative of Iraq that the U.K. action was in no way hostile to Iraq, and that the U.K. forces could only be employed in a combat role if Kuwait were itself attacked from across the border.

The Representative of the United Arab Republic deplored the dispute between the two Arab countries and expressed the hope that the problem would be settled in accordance with Arab traditions and principles. He noted reports that units of the Iraqi Army had been ordered to concentrate on the border of Kuwait but expressed regret about the movements of the British Fleet. He stated that "no Arab is entitled to jeopardize the security of the Arab Nation by exposing

himself to possible imperialist intervention, unless such action is necessitated by the legitimate requirements of the struggle of the Arab Nation." He voiced the hope that Iraq would take no steps that would threaten the peace and security of the area.

The Representative of Iraq, who had been invited by the Council to participate, said that his Government had repeatedly stated it would employ only peaceful means to settle the difficulty and had denied the reports of troop concentrations in southern Iraq. He asserted that the complaint by the United Kingdom had been launched in order "to cover up and justify the blatant action of aggression committed by the United Kingdom by landing its forces in Kuwait." Kuwait was not, and never had been, a sovereign and independent state, he stated. Historically and legally Kuwait had always been considered an integral part of the Basra Province of Iraq and therefore, there could be no question of an international dispute arising between Iraq and Kuwait. The Representative of Iraq alleged the intervention of British troops could only result in endangering international peace and security. He also stated that this had been done although Iraq had not moved "one single soldier," demonstrating that the United Kingdom was not interested in protecting Kuwait but had far more serious designs. After outlining the case for his Government's claim to Kuwait, the Iraqi spokesman charged that the insistance of the U.K. Government in maintaining its domination over Kuwait could be explained by the fact that oil reserves of Kuwait were 60 billion barrels—twice the reserves of the United States. British companies derived enormous profits, he said, and this was the crux of the matter.

On July 5 the Council invited the Representative of Kuwait to take a place at the table—all members of the Council with the exception of the Soviet Representative having expressed approval of the invitation. The Representative of Iraq criticized this invitation on the grounds that Kuwait was not a state in the international community of nations.

The Iraqi spokesman outlined reports of the British military build-up in Kuwait. He charged that the long-term British objective was to consolidate its influence and power in the Gulf, and called on the Council to remove the source of tension by urging the immediate withdrawal of British forces.

The introduction of British troops into Kuwait was also criticized by the Representative of the Soviet Union. He characterized this and the concentration of British naval units as "a provocative act by a colonial power creating a threat to peace." He asked the Council to condemn the British action and to adopt measures which would lead to the immediate withdrawal of British troops.

The Representative of Kuwait rejected the Iraqi claim to Kuwait, recalling several instances in which Kuwait's independence had been

recognized by Iraq in official correspondence between the two countries. He pointed out that Iraqi delegates had backed Kuwait's applications for membership in various international organizations. Kuwait was a member of the International Telecommunications Union, the Universal Postal Union, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Labor Organization and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. He stated that the British forces would evacuate Kuwait immediately when the aggressive and hostile attitude of General Qasim ceased.

Speaking for the United States, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton expressed confidence that discussion of the issue within the Security Council could have a moderating effect on the situation existing in the Kuwait area. He noted that the United States regarded Kuwait as a sovereign, independent state, with which the United States concluded an international agreement in 1960. The U.S. Representative recalled that ranking Iraqi leaders had recently made a number of public statements—the nature of which was at variance with past expressions of Iraqi friendship for Kuwait. Secondly, there had been reports already referred to by Representatives of the United Arab Republic and the United Kingdom that Iraqi troop dispositions had been made near the border of Kuwait. The Ruler of Kuwait had asked for help from the Governments of Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom. The United States believed that the furnishing of assistance by those Governments had been appropriate, and that these actions would tend to ensure the preservation of peace in the area. The U.S. Representative welcomed the statement by the United Kingdom that it intended to withdraw its forces as soon as the Ruler considered that the threat to the independence of Kuwait was over. The U.S. spokesman added that his Government had been informed by the Government of Iraq that Iraq did not intend to resort to force in Kuwait. He expressed trust that Iraq would fully respect its obligations under article 2 (4) of the Charter calling on member states to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state. The United States hoped that the Ruler of Kuwait might soon receive assurances to this effect from the Government of Iraq.

The Representative of the United Arab Republic proposed that the differences between the two Arab states be settled within the framework of the Arab League. His delegation supported the independence of Kuwait on the basis of self-determination, and demanded the instant withdrawal of the British forces in Kuwait.

At the meeting on July 6, the U.K. Representative said that Kuwait's independence must be respected by all states and that Iraq

should show that respect by abandoning forthwith its annexationist policies and military preparations. He said that if Iraq demonstrated, both in deed and in word, its peaceful intentions toward Kuwait, the U.K. troops would depart from Kuwait as swiftly and as effectively as they had arrived.

The U.K. delegation circulated a draft resolution which proposed in its preambular section that the Council: (1) note the statements of the representatives of the parties concerned; (2) note that in response to the appeal of the Ruler of Kuwait, Saudi Arabian and British forces had been placed at the disposal of the Ruler; (3) note the statement by the Representative of Iraq to the effect that the Iraqi Government undertook to employ only peaceful means in the pursuance of its policy; (4) note the statement made by the Representative of the United Kingdom that British forces would be withdrawn from Kuwait as soon as the Ruler considered that the threat to Kuwait had been removed; (5) recognize the importance of reestablishing peaceful conditions in the area; and (6) welcome any constructive steps which might be taken by the Arab League on the line of the present resolution. The operative portion of the U.K. draft resolution: (1) called upon all states to respect the independence and territorial integrity of Kuwait, (2) urged that all concerned should work for peace and tranquillity in the area, and (3) agreed that the Council would keep the situation under review.

The Soviet Representative found the United Kingdom's draft resolution unsatisfactory. He stated that the question of the status of Kuwait, on which operative paragraph 1 would pass judgment, was an issue that went beyond the approved agenda. He characterized the omission of a demand that the British armed forces be withdrawn from Kuwait as the major defect of the draft resolution.

The Representative of Iraq also spoke against the U.K. draft resolution. He reviewed the assurances of his Government that "not one single soldier was moved in the direction of the south." He said that there could be no hope of any peaceful solution as long as British forces remained in Kuwait.

At the meeting on July 7 the Council had before it also a draft resolution sponsored by the United Arab Republic. This draft proposed that the Council note the statements of the Representatives of Iraq and Kuwait and the statement by the Representative of Iraq to the effect that the Iraqi Government was pursuing peaceful means in the solution of the questions. The operative portion (1) urged that the question be solved by peaceful means and (2) called upon the United Kingdom to withdraw immediately its forces from Kuwait.

The Representative of Kuwait welcomed the United Arab Republic draft resolution but stated that under the circumstances Kuwait did not find in it any guarantee for its independence. The Representa-

tive of the Soviet Union spoke in favor of the United Arab Republic draft. The U.K. Representative reported that it had been decided that two companies of U.K. troops were to return to their normal stations from Kuwait.

The vote on the United Kingdom draft resolution was 7 (Chile, China, France, Liberia, Turkey, U.K., U.S.) to 1 (U.S.S.R.), with 3 (Ceylon, Ecuador, U.A.R.) abstentions. Thus this draft was rejected by virtue of the Soviet veto. The United Arab Republic draft resolution was rejected by a vote of 3 (Ceylon, U.A.R., U.S.S.R.), to 0, with 8 (Chile, China, Ecuador, France, Liberia, Turkey, U.K., U.S.) abstentions.

After the votes, the U.K. Representative noted that once again the Soviet Union had vetoed a measure which had received the wide support of the Council. He expressed gratification that with possibly one exception no member of the Council had given any support to the claims which Iraq had made against Kuwait. He asked the Council to watch the situation very closely and to meet without delay should circumstances so demand.

On September 13, the Secretary General of the League of Arab States transmitted to the Secretariat of the United Nations the texts of letters exchanged on August 12 between the Ruler of the State of Kuwait and the Secretary General of the League of Arab States. These letters concerned the Security Forces of the League of Arab States in Kuwait. The Prince of Kuwait wrote that his Government had requested the British Government to withdraw its forces from the territory of Kuwait on August 12. The Secretary General of the Arab League noted that the Arab League Security Forces, which had been sent to Kuwait, were deployed in compliance with Kuwait's request and would be withdrawn whenever withdrawal was requested by the Ruler.

North Africa

Algeria

In the 16th General Assembly the question of the self-determination and independence of Algeria was considered for the 7th consecutive year. The General Assembly considered the question in a more optimistic mood than in previous years and in the earnest hope, as U.S. Representative Ambassador Charles W. Yost stated in the Political and Security Committee of the General Assembly, that this would be the last time the question of Algeria would appear on the Assembly's agenda.

Outside the United Nations, and prior to the convening of the 16th General Assembly in the fall of 1961, negotiations concerning the

Algerian problem between French and Algerian FLN (National Liberation Front) representatives took place intermittently from May to July 1961 when they were broken off by the FLN. Although no agreement was reached, considerable progress toward an agreement was made in these discussions. When General Assembly discussion of the Algerian item began in December of 1961, open negotiations had not been resumed but prospects for a negotiated settlement appeared brighter than ever before.

Consideration at the Sixteenth General Assembly

The General Assembly, on September 25, decided without discussion to place the item on its agenda, and 2 days later allocated it to the Political and Security Committee, which considered the question in a series of meetings held between December 14 and December 19.

Only one resolution was tabled. On December 15, 31 Afro-Asian countries (later joined by three others) submitted a draft resolution, the operative part of which "called on the two parties to resume negotiations with a view to implementing the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence respecting the unity and territorial integrity of Algeria." The preambular paragraph of the resolution, which in effect set the tone for the debate, recalled the 15th General Assembly's basic resolution of December 14, 1960, which proclaimed the necessity of bringing colonialism to a speedy and unconditional end; recalled the resolution on Algeria of the previous year; took note of the fact that the two parties had affirmed their willingness to seek a negotiated and peaceful solution; and, expressed regret at the suspension of negotiations entered into by the Government of France and the "Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic" (PGAR).

Although France did not participate in the debate, it objected to the resolution on the following grounds:

1. that by referring to the anticolonialist resolution, the resolution incorrectly tagged Algeria as a problem of colonialism although the right of Algerians to self-determination had been recognized by France;

2. that the resolution mentioned U.N. responsibility to contribute to the right of self-determination although the U.N. role had been clearly overtaken by the fact that France and the FLN had chosen the path of bilateral negotiations as the road to an accord;

3. that the reference to the PGAR constituted a veiled form of international recognition for the provisional government and in effect prejudged the form that self-determination would take in Algeria.

Except for the Soviet bloc which violently attacked France, NATO, and private economic investment in Algeria, the debate was moderate in tone. Afro-Asian speakers, while praising General de Gaulle, demanded, among other things, the resumption of French-PGAR negotiations and acceptance of the territorial integrity of Algeria. Ethiopia, which introduced the Afro-Asian draft resolution, said the sponsors did "not intend to push anyone to anything." The tone of the debate was typified by the Cambodian statement claiming that "as distinct from past years, we are approaching this question today in a less tense atmosphere, which shows that events have taken a turn so that we may have a justified hope that a successful conclusion is possible."

The United States position was stated by U.S. Representative Ambassador Charles W. Yost on December 19. He noted that debate this year took place in considerably improved circumstances and that "at long last a peaceful solution of the problem on the basis of self-determination could well be in sight." The view of the United States concerning the proper role of the United Nations on this issue was that it had a responsibility to encourage but not to complicate or risk jeopardizing the early resumption and the successful conclusion of negotiations. On the resolution, the U.S. Representative stated that while it was on the whole moderate in tone and constructive in intent, in certain respects it went beyond what the United States considered a useful and properly restricted role for the United Nations in the present circumstances. The United States regretted the reference to the PGAR since a majority of U.N. members did not recognize the provisional government and mention of it in a U.N. resolution would seem to be a contentious and unnecessarily complicating factor.

Moreover, while the United States did not dispute the goals laid down in the operative paragraph—the right of the Algerian people to self-determination and independence respecting the unity and territorial integrity of Algeria—"we have some doubt whether their specific indication at this time in a UN resolution may not impinge on the prerogatives and responsibilities of the negotiators." The United States therefore abstained on the resolution.

At its meeting on December 19, the draft resolution was put to the vote in the Political and Security Committee and was adopted by 61 to 0, with 34 (U.S.) abstentions. On December 20 the resolution was adopted by the General Assembly without debate by a vote of 62 to 0, with 38 (U.S.) abstentions.

Status of Algerian Prisoners in France

Although not included on the agenda, a related aspect of the Algerian question unexpectedly came before the General Assembly on No-

vember 15. The Assembly at the request of 34 members interrupted its scheduled business on that day to consider a resolution sponsored by some 40 Afro-Asian members, which called attention to the Algerian prisoners in France who were at that time engaged in a hunger strike, presumably to obtain release of some of the imprisoned FLN leaders and to obtain the status of political prisoners. The resolution expressed deep concern with the serious threat to the prospects for a negotiated, peaceful settlement of the Algerian question in consequence of the hunger strike of thousands of Algerians imprisoned in France, recalled its resolution of December 19, 1960, which recognized U.N. responsibility to contribute toward a just solution of the Algerian question, as well as its resolution of December 14, 1960, with particular reference to its paragraph 4 aimed against "repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples." The operative paragraph appealed to the Government of France "to redress the legitimate grievances of the Algerian prisoners in recognizing their status as political prisoners with a view to making possible the immediate termination of the hunger strike."

Saudi Arabia, Upper Volta, Indonesia, and Pakistan asked for approval of the resolution on humanitarian grounds. Pakistan after praising De Gaulle and France, "whose culture and whose stand on behalf of liberty, fraternity and equality all of us admire so much," asked that debate be closed. Just before the vote on the draft resolution, the Representative of Cameroun in explaining his vote stated that "we ask only that France do its best to put an end to the hunger strike which, should it last, would claim 14,000 victims."

In explaining the U.S. decision to abstain on this resolution, U.S. Representative Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton noted that, while the conditions of imprisonment of the Algerians was a matter of active and sympathetic interest to the United States, the United States wondered whether this resolution might not prejudice prospects for an early negotiated settlement of the Algerian question. "Furthermore," he noted, "we have doubts as to the procedure that has been followed as to this resolution and we do not think that that procedure should be considered a precedent." A number of other delegations that abstained explained their vote along similar lines. The resolution was passed by a vote of 62 to 0, with 31 (U.S.) abstentions.

Bizerte

Security Council Consideration

In July 1961 the Security Council considered a Tunisian complaint that French acts of aggression infringing the sovereignty and security of Tunisia in the area of Bizerte threatened international

peace and security. Tunisia's complaint and request for urgent Security Council consideration was sent on July 20 after fighting had broken out between French and Tunisian forces in the Bizerte area on July 19.

When the Council met on July 21 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, appealed to both Tunisia and France for a cease-fire and for a satisfactory peaceful settlement directly between the two parties concerned. The French Representative charged the Tunisians with initial responsibility for interfering with French communications and inciting the Tunisian people against French use of the air and naval bases which the French had obtained under an agreement with Tunisia. Moreover, in a letter to the President of the Security Council on July 20, 1961, he maintained that Tunisian forces were the first to open fire and that the Tunisians were contemplating seizing a portion of the Sahara which had been the subject of a boundary dispute. The Tunisian Representative accused the French of bombing Bizerte and of massacring the population.

On July 22 agreement was reached on an interim resolution introduced by Liberia in which the Security Council called for an immediate cease-fire and a return of all forces to their original positions. The vote on this interim resolution was 10 (Ceylon, Chile, China, Ecuador, Liberia, Turkey, U.S.S.R., U.A.R., U.K., U.S.) to 0, with France not voting on the ground that it had been asking for a cease-fire since the beginning of the fighting and Tunisia had not responded. Among the units required to return to their original positions were French forces which had moved into the city of Bizerte from their base and Tunisian forces which had established roadblocks and other communications barriers around the various units of the French base, including the airfield.

The Council continued to consider the issue the same day in an effort to reach agreement on a definitive resolution. Subsequent to the adoption of the interim resolution, the U.S. Representative urged that the Council strive to bring Tunisia and France together to negotiate promptly a peaceful settlement of their differences. He stated that the "Charter sets forth clearly the principles on which a solution of the problems at issue should be based: respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of all states; the settlement of all disputes by peaceful means; and restraint from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the Charter."

Two draft resolutions were considered, but neither of them gained the required seven votes necessary for adoption. The principal obstacle to agreement on the one sponsored by Liberia and the United Arab Republic was their effort to include in their draft resolution a stipulation that both parties enter immediate negotiations aimed

at the speedy evacuation of French forces from all of Tunisia. This stipulation caused the United States, France and five other countries to abstain. The U.S. view was that the Council should not prejudge the outcome of negotiations between France and Tunisia. An alternative draft resolution sponsored by the United States and the United Kingdom, which urged both parties to negotiate promptly a peaceful settlement of their differences, received only six favorable votes. Presumably this was because Ceylon, Liberia, the United Arab Republic, and the U.S.S.R. did not consider it strong enough and because France joined them in abstaining in the vote on that resolution. Nevertheless, the interim resolution remained in effect and the Council continued to be seized of the problem.

The President of Tunisia, Habib Bourguiba, requested Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold to visit Tunis on July 23, the day after the Security Council failed to adopt a definitive resolution, because the gravity of the situation, he said, made a "direct and personal exchange of views urgent and necessary." Mr. Hammarskjold visited Tunis from July 24–27 and toured some of the areas where fighting had occurred, but he noted that the problem was still before the Council and that therefore "the substance of the problem is outside my personal competence."

Although fighting had not been renewed or extended, both French and Tunisian forces maintained their positions and did not return to their original positions. Consequently, on July 27 Tunisia again requested that the Council be convened on the grounds that the interim resolution had not been complied with by French military forces although Tunisia, it was claimed, had carried out the resolution "fully and faithfully." The French delegation was present at the Council meetings on July 28 and 29 but took no part in the debates. In addition to Council members, Representatives of Senegal and Libya participated.

When the Security Council met again to consider this question on July 28, it had before it letters from the French delegation which denied that French troops had refused to obey the cease-fire, protested against "reprisals taken by the Tunisian Government against French civilians," stated that the cease-fire at Bizerte and in the Sahara had been established and was being observed, pointed out that the Tunisians had not accepted French proposals that talks begin with the Tunisians concerning procedures for restoring normal conditions in Bizerte and, therefore, that the French delegation did not consider it necessary to take part in any debate on this subject in the Security Council.

At this meeting Secretary-General Hammarskjold reported on his trip to Tunisia and on his personal contacts with President Bourguiba

and senior members of the Tunisian Government. Mr. Hammarskjold said that while he had not received any information from the French side in Tunisia on these matters, from "testimony given in personal contacts" it appeared that "actions difficult to reconcile with the principle of a cease-fire have also occurred after the time of the cease-fire, and that French military personnel have been involved in these actions."

Three draft resolutions were considered by the Security Council on July 29, but none of them received the seven affirmative votes necessary for adoption. Two resolutions sponsored by Ceylon, Liberia, and the United Arab Republic would have put the responsibility on France: one expressed serious concern that France had not fully complied with the Council's interim resolution of July 22; the other invited France to enter immediately into negotiations with Tunisia with a view to the rapid evacuation of French forces from Tunisia. Each of these resolutions received only 4 affirmative votes (Ceylon, Liberia, U.S.S.R., U.A.R.), with none opposed, and 6 (Chile, China, Ecuador, Turkey, U.K., U.S.) abstentions. The third draft resolution, introduced by Turkey and supported by the United States, expressed concern that the interim resolution had not been fully carried out, called for immediate and full implementation of that resolution, and urged the early opening of negotiations for a peaceful resolution of the differences between the parties, including a definitive settlement of the question of Bizerte, having due regard for Tunisian sovereignty. After some objections were voiced, Turkey dropped the last part calling for negotiations; without this paragraph the resolution received 6 votes (Chile, China, Ecuador, Turkey, U.K., U.S.) to 0, with 4 (Ceylon, Liberia, U.A.R., U.S.S.R.) abstentions. France did not participate in any of the voting. At the end of the meeting the Council President, Dr. Leopoldo Benites of Ecuador, expressed "profound concern at the fact that once again the Council has concluded its meeting without having arrived at a positive resolution" and concluded that consideration of the matter before the Council had been completed.

Special Session of the General Assembly

Immediately after the last vote in the Security Council the Representative of Liberia announced that his delegation, with other members of the United Nations, would request that a special session of the General Assembly be convened to consider the Tunisian complaint against France. On August 7, 38 members requested that a special session be called "in view of the failure of the Security Council to take appropriate action." The Secretary-General communicated the request to all then 99 members of the United Nations and by August

10, 54 members—more than the majority required to convoke a special session of the General Assembly under article 20 of the Charter—had concurred. The United States replied that "Recent developments encourage us to believe that an early settlement of this dispute in the spirit of Article 33 of the United Nations Charter [concerning peaceful settlement of disputes] may be possible. In order not to imperil such a constructive development, the United States must withhold its agreement to the request for a special session of the General Assembly for the present." The special session was called in accordance with rule 8 of the Rules of Procedure, which stipulates that special sessions shall be held within 15 days of the concurrence of a majority of the members.

The Assembly met in special session on August 21 to consider "the grave situation in Tunisia obtaining since July 19, 1961." The general debate, in which 53 delegations participated, continued until August 25. The debate was opened by Mongi Slim, of Tunisia, who said that the problem had two parts: one was the dispute between France and Tunisia resulting from French "aggression" which began on July 19, and the other was France's refusal to implement the Security Council's resolution. He said that the removal of French troops had been requested ever since Tunisia became independent and that President Bourguiba had called for talks on Bizerte in April 1960 and again in 1961. The aggression of July, he said, spread over the region around Bizerte and even after the Security Council's call for a cease-fire, French troops had extended their perimeter and naval forces had been landed.

A draft resolution sponsored by 32 members was introduced which: noted with concern and regret that France had not complied fully with the interim resolution of the Security Council; noted that the Security Council had failed to take further appropriate action; stated the General Assembly was convinced that the presence of French armed forces in Tunisian territory against the will of the Tunisians was a violation of Tunisia's sovereignty and was a permanent source of international friction which endangered international peace and security; reaffirmed the Security Council's interim resolution and urged France to implement fully the provisions of operative paragraph 1 thereof; and called on the Governments of France and Tunisia "to enter into immediate negotiations to devise peaceful and agreed measures in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations for the withdrawal of all French armed forces from Tunisian territory."

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, said his Government had taken a most serious view of the situation from the outset of the crisis. He emphasized that "we have worked to

bring the parties together for the past three weeks, with more persistence than success." He pointed out that the United States did not question Tunisia's sovereignty over Bizerte but that it believed neither side should take any action that might cause further deterioration of the situation. He reiterated the view that decisions of the Security Council should be complied with, and hoped that there would be an early withdrawal of French troops from the city of Bizerte and its environs and that at the same time Tunisians would refrain from interfering with essential communications between the various units of the French base following evacuation of the city. The U.S. Representative also noted the need for prompt negotiations between the two parties, emphasizing that "Article 33, which deserves our constant analysis and our constant repetition, states that 'the parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation. . . .'" The U.S. Representative also said: "The second major contribution this Assembly can make is to underline to both sides the serious view that the world takes of this dispute. It is a dispute that can and must be ended, and ended promptly, for these are explosive times, times in which no spark must be permitted to fan itself into a blaze that could mean the conflagration which would consume us all. France and Tunisia may well be said to have the peace of all of us in their hands." Soviet-bloc representatives took advantage of the occasion to engage in propaganda attacks against France, NATO, and the United States and gave strong support to the Tunisian case.

The resolution was eventually adopted on August 25, 1961, by a vote of 66 to 0, with 30 (U.S.) abstentions. France did not participate in the special session. The Ivory Coast and Niger were also absent from this session.

During October 1961 French troops were withdrawn from the environs of Bizerte to the component parts of the base complex which they had held before July 19, 1961. Franco-Tunisian talks on Bizerte were begun during the latter part of the year and, although a definitive agreement had not been reached by the end of 1961, these talks were continuing.

Oman

Consideration at the Resumed Session of the Fifteenth General Assembly

Since the question of Oman was not considered at the first part of the 15th session of the General Assembly prior to adjournment, it was taken up at the resumed session where it was considered April 19–20, 1961, at five meetings of the Special Political Committee.

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During the course of debate, representatives of the various Arab states maintained that Oman had an independent status, that the Sultan of Muscat was a "British puppet," and that there could be no justification for British intervention in the territory of Oman. They demanded recognition of the right of the people of Oman to independence, that all British troops in Oman be withdrawn, and that all political prisoners be released. They called upon the parties to enter into negotiations for a peaceful settlement.

The British Representative stated that there had never been a state under an Imam of Oman, independent of and separate from the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. He went on to say that as the result of the "foreign inspired nature" of an insurrection which broke out in 1957, the Sultan of Muscat and Oman "requested aid from the United Kingdom," which then extended him military assistance. Oman was now at peace and there were no British troops in the area to withdraw. The United Kingdom hoped for a settlement under which the rebel leaders could return to Oman under terms satisfactory both to the Sultan and to themselves, and was ready to offer its good offices "if there was any prospect of success."

On April 21 the Representative of Indonesia introduced a draft resolution in the Special Political Committee cosponsored by Afghanistan, Guinea, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Yemen, and Yugoslavia. By this joint draft resolution the General Assembly, *inter alia*, recalling its 15th General Assembly resolution "Declaration of the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples," would: (1) recognize the right of the people of Oman to self-determination and independence; (2) call for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Oman; and (3) invite the parties concerned to settle peacefully their differences with a view to restore normal conditions in Oman.

At the same meeting the Committee, upon the suggestion of the Representative of India, decided to recommend to the General Assembly that further consideration of this item be deferred until the 16th General Assembly. This recommendation was adopted by the Assembly without discussion.

Consideration at Sixteenth General Assembly

The "Question of Oman" was placed on the provisional agenda of the 16th session in accordance with the decision taken at the 15th session. The General Assembly decided on September 25, over the objection of the United Kingdom, to include the item in its agenda, and allocated it to the Special Political Committee, which considered it at eight meetings, November 27–December 4, 1961.

The course of debate followed generally that of the 15th session in

its principal points. The Arab states stressed the right of the people of Oman to self-determination in accordance with the 15th General Assembly's Declaration on Colonialism, citing the Treaty of Sib as recognition by the United Kingdom of claims that the Imamate of Oman should be "independent and separate." The British intervention, at the request of the Sultan of Muscat, was "oil imperialism," and could not be countenanced by the United Nations. The Arab representatives deplored the fact that negotiations between the British and the Imam of Oman had not borne fruit and blamed the United Kingdom. The Special Political Committee decided on November 27, by a vote of 40 to 26 (U.S.), with 23 abstentions, to hear an Oman delegation of three persons. The spokesman of the Oman delegation accused the United Kingdom of being "a colonialist and imperialist power to the core" and called upon the United Nations to "eradicate colonialism in Oman and elsewhere."

The Representative of the United Kingdom stated that inasmuch as there had never been an independent state of Oman separate from the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, for the United Nations to debate the matter of Oman was "gross interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign independent nation" and a violation of article 2(7) of the Charter. The "agreement of Sib" was not an international treaty, but rather an internal agreement between the government of the Sultan, on the one hand, and "a number of tribal leaders in Oman," on the other. He said the "area is at peace" and the former rebels, who had been abetted by "certain foreign powers," were "discredited" and had no support from the people. The allegations made by the Arab representatives, particularly that of Saudi Arabia, were rejected as "inventions." The British Representative repeated his statement of the 15th session on good offices, saying that the good offices of the United Kingdom would always be available to help toward a settlement.

A draft resolution was submitted on November 22, by Afghanistan, Guinea, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Yemen, and Yugoslavia. On November 30 Mali added its name to the list of sponsors. Under the draft resolution the General Assembly, having discussed the question of Oman, deeply concerned with the situation in Oman, and recalling its 15th General Assembly resolution would: (1) recognize the right of the people of Oman to self-determination and independence; (2) call for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Oman; and (3) invite the parties concerned to settle peacefully their differences with a view to restoring normal conditions in Oman.

The draft resolution was adopted by the Special Political Committee on December 4, 1961, by a vote of 38 to 21 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions,

but failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote for adoption by the General Assembly in plenary session on December 14, 1961. The vote was 33 to 21 (U.S.), with 29 abstentions.

The Palestine Question

Complaint of Jordan Against Israel for Violation of the General Armistice Agreement (GAA)

On April 1, 1961, the Representative of Jordan requested a meeting of the Security Council at the earliest possible date to consider a complaint against Israel for "violation of the Armistice Agreement and acts of military provocation which threaten international peace and security." The explanatory memorandum accompanying this request charged that the Israel authorities were contemplating holding a military parade on April 20 in which Israel troops, heavy armaments, and heavy war equipment would be displayed and reviewed in Jerusalem. The memorandum noted that on March 17 there had been a dress rehearsal for the parade. As a result the Jordanian Government had submitted a complaint to the Jordan-Israel Mixed Armistice Commission (MAC), which on March 20 found that the March 17 display was "a breach of the GAA" (General Armistice Agreement). The MAC condemned this Israel action and called upon the Israel authorities "to take the strongest measures to prevent the recurrence of such a breach of the GAA and to refrain in the future from bringing to Jerusalem any equipment in excess to that allowed for under the terms of the GAA." The Jordanian memorandum noted that despite the MAC's condemnation, the Israel authorities again made known their intentions to hold the contemplated military parade on April 20. The memorandum held that "this contemplated action of military provocation on the part of Israel, in utter defiance and complete disregard of the decision of the MAC, if not prevented from taking place will endanger international peace and security."

Israel's Representative on April 2 addressed a letter explaining the Israel point of view to the President of the Security Council. The letter stated, *inter alia*, that the parade to be held on April 20 would not endanger international peace and security; that a similar parade was held in 1958 and that the U.N. Chairman of the MAC had on that occasion abstained on a similar complaint by Jordan; that the Jordanian Government had brought military equipment, including armour and planes, to Jerusalem in excess of that allowed for in the GAA on at least four recent occasions and that the Israel Government, recognizing the purely ceremonial nature of those occasions, had not complained; that Israel assurances regarding the peaceful and ceremonial

nature of the parade had been officially conveyed to the Jordanian Representative on the MAC, that the request to convene the Council was to distort and to inflate the significance of the whole matter, and that the Council should not be called upon to concern itself with the matter. The Israel letter reiterated on behalf of the Israel Government "its fullest assurances of the peaceful nature and purposes of the parade and its readiness to cooperate with all appropriate measures designed to relieve Jordanian apprehensions, however ill-founded they may be."

The Council considered the Jordanian complaint on April 6, 10, and 11. Jordan's Representative concentrated on the finding of the MAC and urged the Council to endorse that finding. The Israel Representative amplified the observations contained in his letter of April 2 and charged that Jordan had refused to cooperate in the implementation of certain articles of the GAA.

On April 10 Ceylon and the United Arab Republic submitted a draft resolution endorsing the decision of the MAC on March 20, 1961, and urging Israel to comply with this decision.

Speaking for the United States on April 11, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton expressed regret that a case involving a breach of the Armistice Agreement between Jordan and Israel was again before the Council. The rehearsal for a military parade by Israel in Jerusalem on March 17 was contrary to the GAA. Even if violations of article 7 of the Armistice Agreement were not hostile in intention and in substance constituted no threat to peace, Ambassador Plimpton said, the crucial question was the effect such violations had on the force of the Armistice Agreements and on the attitudes of the parties toward them. If the Council did not act wisely now, it might be faced with a series of formal complaints which would erode the Armistice Agreement and the will of the parties to carry it out. Such a situation could easily be avoided by adherence in the future not only to the substance but to the form of the Armistice Agreement. The authority of the machinery of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) should be upheld.

The U.S. Representative noted that his Government had tabled an amendment to the draft resolution cosponsored by Ceylon and the United Arab Republic. This amendment would request "the members of the MAC to cooperate so as to ensure that the GAA will be complied with." The U.S. Representative said that his Government was in accord with the proposed draft resolution, but believed that the Council should take this opportunity to reaffirm its continuing concern that the General Armistice Agreements, so long as they governed the relationships between Israel and its Arab neighbors, be complied with fully and in good faith. He explained that the purpose of the U.S.

amendment was to put again on record the fact that the compliance with the GAA's was not a unilateral obligation. Neither party to any of the GAA's could expect that the other party would fully honor the provisions of that Agreement if it itself was not prepared to show good faith in compliance.

On April 11 the Council approved the U.S. amendment by a vote of 7 (U.S.) to 0, with 4 (Ceylon, Turkey, U.A.R., U.S.S.R.) abstentions. The draft resolution as amended was approved by a vote of 8 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 (Ceylon, U.A.R., U.S.S.R.) abstentions.

The Secretary-General having requested, through the Chief of Staff of the UNTSO, Maj. Gen. Carl von Horn, a reply from the Israel Government on compliance with the terms of the resolution, reported to the Security Council on April 17. He noted that the Israel authorities had on April 13 lodged a verbal complaint with the Chairman of the MAC regarding alleged concentration of heavy military equipment in the Jordanian part of Jerusalem but that an investigation had found no evidence of equipment beyond that allowed in the GAA. Israel had also requested an emergency meeting of the MAC to consider the Security Council resolution of April 11. The Secretary-General observed that the Israel initiative, "throwing the matter back for consideration by the MAC," was contrary to the sense of the resolution as the earlier Security Council debate had made clear. It would be incorrect to interpret that portion of the resolution which resulted from the U.S. amendment as derogating from the meaning and intent of the rest of the resolution. The United States had explained that it supported the resolution, and that the amendment looked only to the future. The consideration by the MAC of the Israel complaint against Jordan, even if this complaint had been found to be warranted, could not release Israel from the obligation to comply with the provisions of the Security Council resolution. A violation by one party could not be justified on the ground that similar action was being planned by the second party. The Secretary-General's report concluded by finding it necessary to report to the Council that thus far there had been no response from the Israel Government on compliance with the resolution.

On April 19 the Secretary-General circulated to the members of the Council a report, dated the same day, by the Chief of Staff of UNTSO. The Chief of Staff's report reviewed the MAC's consideration on April 17, 18, and 19 of the Israel complaint. He noted that on April 19 the Israel delegation proposed that the MAC decide "that its members are bound to cooperate so as to ensure that all articles of the GAA will be complied with in full" and to call on the two parties to the GAA "to start immediately by direct negotiations to work out ways and means to bring about that result." When the Jordanian

delegation voted against and the chairman abstained on the adoption of the first part of this proposal, the Israel delegation stated that in the light of these circumstances it saw "no possibility of continuing its presence here," and it thereupon withdrew.

The Chief of Staff's report also recounted the MAC's consideration of a Jordanian complaint of April 14 that between April 12 and 14 Israel had concentrated troops and heavy equipment on its side of Jerusalem. In response to this complaint the Israel Representative stated on April 15 that he would like to assure Jordan that Israel had no hostile intentions against it and that it was Israel's aim to maintain tranquillity along the demarcation line. The Israel delegation was absent when the MAC, on April 19, adopted a resolution which found that Israel had concentrated a large amount of heavy military equipment on its side of the demarcation line in Jerusalem Holy City area on or about April 12–14, and which called upon the Israel authorities to withdraw such heavy arms forthwith.

On April 20 the Israel military parade was held in Jerusalem as scheduled.

Palestine Arab Refugees

Consideration at the Resumed Session of the Fifteenth General Assembly

At the resumed session of the 15th General Assembly in the spring of 1961, representatives of the host governments and of the governments of the major contributors to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) continued their informal discussions, which had begun in the first part of the 15th General Assembly in the fall of 1960, regarding a possible resolution on the UNRWA item.

Agreement on a mutually acceptable draft resolution was not achieved through informal discussion, and on April 7 a draft resolution favored by the Arab states was submitted by Afghanistan, Federation of Malaya, Indonesia, Pakistan, and Somalia. According to this draft resolution the General Assembly would, *inter alia:* (1) note with regret that the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine (UNCCP—also referred to as the Palestine Conciliation Commission (PCC))—composed of representatives of the United States, France, and Turkey—had not yet reported progress on carrying out the task entrusted to it in paragraph 4 of the 14th General Assembly's resolution and would again request the UNCCP to make efforts to secure the implementation of paragraph 11 of the 3d General Assembly's resolution relating to the repatriation, resettlement, and economic and social rehabilitation of the refugees—and to secure the payment of compensation; and (2) would recommend to the General

Assembly at its 16th session the establishment of appropriate and effective machinery for safeguarding the property rights of the Arab refugees of Palestine.

Paragraph 4 of the resolution which was adopted by the 14th General Assembly requested the PCC to make further efforts to secure the implementation of paragraph 11 of the 3d General Assembly's resolution.

Active consideration of the Palestine Arab refugee question was resumed by the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly on April 11. On April 12 the United States submitted four amendments to the five-power draft resolution. The amendments would have, *inter alia*, deleted reference to machinery for safeguarding the property rights of the Arab refugees of Palestine, and substituted a recommendation to the General Assembly at its 16th session that "primary consideration be given to the future welfare of the refugees themselves."

In introducing the amendments the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton, observed that there was nothing in the annual report of the UNRWA Director which necessitated adoption of a resolution at the 15th session. Nevertheless, in deference to the strong views of Arab representatives, the United States was willing to support a resolution if its terms were essentially noncontroversial and did not go beyond the terms of previous resolutions on the subject. The U.S. Representative pointed out that the 16th General Assembly, convening only 5 months hence, would review the mandate of UNRWA itself, and that this review would entail far-reaching considerations. With regard to the difference of opinion on the property rights issue, the U.S. Representative expressed the belief that if the Assembly were to make any recommendations to the 16th session, it should suggest the consideration of all matters concerning the refugees that are related to the review of the UNRWA mandate. He said that the 16th session would not wish to focus exclusively on the question of Arab property rights, and thus it should not be recommended at this session. He added that the rights of Arab refugees with regard to property left behind in what is now Israel, were the subject of bitter dispute between the parties concerned, and were most difficult to state precisely. It would be unwise to try to resolve such a controversial and complex issue as an isolated aspect of the whole refugee problem, he said, without reference to compensation or repatriation for the refugees.

On the question of the alleged inactivity of the UNCCP, the U.S. Representative pointed out that the primary responsibility for achieving solutions of outstanding problems between the parties concerned lies with the parties themselves. The Commission obviously had

rights of initiative, but it could not hope to be successful if there were little or no prospect of constructive initiative from the parties. He said there was no doubt on the part of the United States that the Commission always stood ready to assist the parties in finding a solution.

On April 12 Iraq and Libya submitted subamendments to the U.S. amendments. The subamendments incorporated some of the language of the U.S. amendments, but restored reference to "effective machinery for safeguarding the property rights." On April 14 the U.S. Representative responded to charges by the U.A.R. Representative that in submitting its amendments the United States was defending the interests of Israel, creating an atmosphere of suspicion, and aggravating the problem. The U.S. Representative said that the controversy which had arisen in the Committee had not been caused by the U.S. amendments which had been designed to avoid such a controversy, but by the Arab Representative's insistence on taking up at the present session the issue of a guardianship over the property rights of the refugees. The United States had taken no position on the merits of the issue and was not defending anyone. However, it believed that the welfare of the refugees would be served best if discussion of the question were deferred to the 16th session, as part of the broad review of all the elements of the unfortunate Palestine refugee problem.

After further debate, on April 17 the U.S. Representative withdrew the U.S. amendments to the five-power draft resolution and submitted a new draft resolution. The latter noted that the mandate of the Agency was to be reviewed at the 16th session, and expressed belief that at the 16th session "careful consideration should be given to the future welfare of the refugees themselves, including the safeguarding of their rights set forth in Resolution 194 (III) paragraph 11, to repatriation or compensation for properties left behind." (In response to observations made by the Representative of Jordan, the final phrase of this sentence was subsequently withdrawn.) The U.S. Representative said his delegation had reluctantly concluded that if the present confusing drift in the Committee's consideration of the item were to be halted, there must be a clear-cut choice between the two resolutions. The Arab delegation had insisted on the retention in the five-power draft resolution of the controversial new substantive elements, the effect of which would be to prejudge the action to be taken at the Assembly's 16th session on one particular aspect of the refugee problem. The U.S. Representative said the Iraq-Libya subamendments had not only failed to reconcile divergent views represented by the five-power draft resolution and the U.S. amendments, but also were giving rise to the kind of unproductive debate which the latter had been devised to avert. In view of those considerations and the fact that the United States was bearing a very

considerable portion of the burden of caring for the refugees, he hoped that its draft resolution would be given careful and sympathetic attention.

On April 18 the Special Political Committee approved the revised five-power draft resolution by a rollcall vote of 47 to 19 (U.S.), with 20 abstentions. The U.S. revised draft resolution failed of approval by a rollcall vote of 30 (U.S.) to 31, with 15 abstentions.

On April 21 the General Assembly considered in plenary session the draft resolution reported by the Special Political Committee. During the discussion the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton, said that the United States, which had contributed so much to the care and welfare of the refugees over the years, regretted to find it necessary to express a difference of opinion with the host governments. He noted that the United States had opposed the introduction of any new and controversial elements that further complicated an already complicated situation. The United States considered "not feasible" the institution by the United Nations of a custodial function for refugee property in Israel. There were more than enough frustrations on this problem already, and complicated legal questions were involved. The U.S. Representative denied the charge made by Arab spokesmen that the United States was defending Israel in this matter. The concern of the United States was with the refugees themselves, and in the honest and deliberate judgment of the United States, the introduction of the property custodian concept would hurt the refugees and further delay a solution to their problems. He observed that the United States had endorsed, defended, and supported the rights of the refugees as defined in paragraph 11. It had voluntarily given more than its share for the welfare of the refugees, but this was a multinational problem and thus other states should increase their contributions. The U.S. Representative concluded by saying that the Palestine refugee problem should be the subject of "far-sighted humane concern and not of short-sighted political manipulation."

Having decided, by a vote of 41 to 37, with 14 abstentions, to vote separately on three paragraphs of the resolution, the Assembly approved the revised five-power draft resolution with the exception of two paragraphs, one preambular and the other operative. The operative paragraph which would have recognized, "the need to safeguard the property rights of the Arab refugees of Palestine," failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority—the vote having been 44 to 35 (U.S.), with 15 abstentions. The vote on the resolution as a whole, minus the paragraphs which had not been approved, was 37 (U.S.) to 17, with 38 abstentions.

This resolution: (1) noted with regret that the UNCCP had not yet been able to report progress on carrying out the task entrusted

to it in paragraph 4 of the 14th General Assembly resolution and again requested the Commission to make efforts to secure the implementation of paragraph 11 of the 3d General Assembly resolution and to report thereon not later than October 15, 1961; and (2) directed attention to the precarious financial position of UNRWA and urged governments to contribute or increase their contributions.

Activities of the Palestine Conciliation Commission (PCC or UNCCP)

Following the adoption of this resolution, the Commission urgently gave renewed consideration as to how best to proceed with its work. On May 9, 1961, the Commission decided to explore, by means of a Special Representative, the precise views of the parties on what action might usefully be undertaken toward the implementation of paragraph 11 of the third General Assembly resolution. A careful search for an appropriate representative resulted in the appointment on August 21 of Dr. Joseph E. Johnson, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. As a first step, the Special Representative visited the Near East to explore with Arab host governments and with Israel practical means of seeking progress on the Palestine Arab Refuge problem pursuant to the 15th General Assembly resolution.

During the first part of September, the Special Representative visited Beirut, Amman, Cairo, Gaza, Jerusalem, and Tel Aviv. Conversations took place at the highest level and with senior officials and experts of Israel and the host countries. At Beirut discussions were held with the Director of UNRWA and members of the UNRWA Advisory Commission. The Special Representative visited UNRWA refugee camps and vocational training centers in the company of UNRWA area officials and of local officials. Upon his return from the Near East, the Special Representative held further extensive conversations with representatives of the host countries and Israel.

The Special Representative's Report: On November 22, 1961, the Commission released the Special Representative's report as an addendum to its 19th Progress Report. In a covering memorandum the Commission highly commended the Special Representative for his excellent work in developing useful relationships with the officials of the governments directly concerned, in reopening channels of discussion on a most complex and controversial issue, and in pointing a way to progress on the problem. The Commission warmly endorsed the conclusions reached by the Special Representative.

In his report, the Special Representative first described the nature and purpose of his mission, and then presented a short historical review of the Palestine refugee problem. In the "Findings and Conclusions" he stated *inter alia*, that there was no prospect of an early resolution of the Palestine question as a whole, but that the parties

directly concerned had indicated willingness to consider the possibility of a step-by-step process on the refugee question, and that it might be worthwhile, therefore, for the Commission to continue the effort it had initiated. In any such continuing effort, the Special Representative reported, the focus should be on the refugees themselves; moreover, the need to obtain the cooperation of the governments directly concerned should be recognized, as should the fact that there could be no early end to this refugee problem. In the Special Representative's view, there would be a continuing need for international assistance. However, if the international community were to go on carrying most of the financial burden, it was entitled to expect Israel, the Arab host countries, and the refugees themselves to cooperate with determination and willingness in bringing about real progress.

He noted that the Special Representative approach was new and had not yet been given a thorough test. He recommended that, provided the qualified and cautious optimism expressed in his report continued to be justified, consideration should be given to the continuation of this approach. Additionally, the Special Representative pointed to a need for careful analysis and for special studies in connection with the work of the Special Representative, if he were to be successful in advancing towards the goal of returning the refugees to a worthwhile life.

Identification and Valuation Program: In its 19th Progress Report the Commission reviewed the considerable work it had accomplished in identifying and valuating the real properties left behind by the Arab refugees in what is now Israel. The Commission's Technical Office reported that it had continued to assess the value of the approximately 450,000 land parcels which were individually owned by Arabs. The Technical Office noted that there remained the task of computing each owner's holdings. This involved the calculation of an estimated 1,500,000 shares in the individual parcels of property, and the preparation of an index of each owner's name. The Commission expressed the belief that the methods and techniques being used in the identification and valuation work would lead to estimates that would prove to be basically accurate and that should serve as a fundamental basis for any compensation agreement.

Release of Arab Refugee Bank Accounts Blocked in Israel: As of June 30, 1961, the Commission had assisted in the release of a total of 2,790,045 pounds sterling of the accounts of refugees and absentee owners in Israel. Arrangements for the implementation of the final stage in this operation—the release of the bank accounts blocked in Israel in banks other than Barclay's and Ottoman's—were virtually completed.

Historical Survey of Efforts of the Commission To Secure the Implementation of Paragraph 11 of the 3d General Assembly's Resolu-

tion: The Commission's Secretariat completed an extensive historical survey of action taken by the Commission in connection with this paragraph and of the positions taken by the Governments of Israel and the Arab states, as well as by other interested delegations, UNRWA, and the Secretary-General. This paper, bearing the subtitles, "The Question of Reintegration by Repatriation or Resettlement," and "The Question of Compensation," was released by the Commission on October 2, 1961.

Consideration at Sixteenth General Assembly

Under the usual item, "The Report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East," the Palestine refugee problem was considered in the Special Political Committee from December 4 to December 19, 1961, and in the General Assembly on December 20. UNRWA Director John Davis orally supplemented the information contained in his written report for the period February 1, 1960, to June 30, 1961. He noted that the average expenditure for all relief services not including education was about $28 per refugee for the year, or 8 cents a day. Education was the one item in the Agency's program for which per capita expenditure had significantly increased.

The Director reviewed the main objectives of the Agency's 3-year program—to expand vocational training facilities, to double the annual number of university scholarships, to improve the preparatory education program and extend it by a year, and to continue a modest loan/grant program for helping qualified refugees put acquired skills to productive use. According to the Director, the most critical problem facing the Agency was that of financing the program for the balance of its current mandate—to June 30, 1963. He anticipated a serious shortfall unless governments significantly increased their contributions. Dr. Davis foresaw little likelihood of the rapid and total solution of the Palestine refugee problem; it appeared to him that the Agency's services would have to be continued, probably for a considerable time after mid 1963.

On December 7 the views of the United States were presented to the Special Political Committee by the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton. He urged that the discussion focus on the future welfare of the refugees themselves, and that contentious proposals or courses of action which would not advance the refugees' own vital interests be eschewed.

With regard to the work of the UNCCP, the U.S. Representative reaffirmed strong U.S. support for the provisions of repatriation, resettlement, and compensation contained in paragraph 11 of the 3d General Assembly's resolution. He pointed out that while the Near

Eastern region had for several years enjoyed a period of relative calm, the unresolved refugee problem represented a major potential threat to peace. Thus, in keeping with the continuing American efforts to contribute realistically to progress pursuant to General Assembly recommendations, the U.S. Government had unqualifiedly endorsed the appointment by the UNCCP of Dr. Joseph E. Johnson as Special Representative of the Commission. The Special Representative's mission was to undertake exploratory discussions with the governments directly concerned on "practical means of seeking progress on the Palestine Arab refugee problem pursuant to Resolution 1604 (XV) of the United Nations General Assembly." Dr. Johnson had ably carried out the preliminary phase of those exploratory discussions, stated Ambassador Plimpton.

The U.S. Representative concluded by emphasizing that the United States endorsed the conclusions contained in Dr. Johnson's report. The U.S. Representative stressed that while the expectations of this potentially constructive and hopeful element might be limited, they should be given a fair chance to materialize. As a new approach had been undertaken, he appealed to the Committee to encourage it; not to throw up any roadblock which would discourage or prevent forward steps, pointing out that the United States deplored any official public statement or official public action which made more difficult the effort of the Commission, through the quiet instrumentality of a Special Representative, to make progress.

The United States delegation tabled a draft resolution on December 11, which after citing pertinent previous resolutions, noted with deep regret that repatriation or compensation of the refugees as provided for in paragraph 11 of the 3d General Assembly's resolution had not been effected, that no substantial progress had been made in the program endorsed in paragraph 2 of the 6th General Assembly resolution for the reintegration of refugees either by repatriation or resettlement and that, therefore, the situation of the refugees continued to be a matter of serious concern. The operative portion of the U.S. draft proposed among other things that the Assembly: (1) take note of the efforts of the Conciliation Commission for Palestine pursuant to the request contained in the 4th and 5th General Assembly resolutions to secure the implementation of paragraph 11 of the 3d General Assembly resolution; (a) request the Commission to intensify its efforts for the implementation of paragraph 11 of the 3d General Assembly resolution and urge the Arab host Governments and Israel to cooperate with the Commission in that regard; and (b) further request it to intensify its work on the identification and valuation of Arab refugee immovable properties in Palestine as of May 15, 1948, and to make every effort to complete that work by September 1, 1962;

and (2) direct attention to the precarious financial position of the Agency and urge noncontributing governments to contribute, and contributing governments to consider increasing their contributions, so that it could carry out its essential programs.

A second draft resolution was submitted later on December 11 by the Central African Republic, Chile, Congo (Brazzaville), Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Malagasy Republic, Netherlands, Sierra Leone, Togo, Upper Volta, and Uruguay. This joint draft resolution proposed that the General Assembly, *inter alia*—recognize that the establishment of peaceful relations between the Arab states and Israel would do much to facilitate a solution of the problem of the Arab refugees, recall that under the Charter it is the fundamental duty of all member states of the United Nations to endeavor to settle all international disputes by peaceful means, confirm the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council calling upon Israel and the Arab states to settle the questions in dispute between them as soon as possible and by common agreement, so that peaceful relations might be established between them, and consider that such peaceful relations would promote the well-being of all the peoples concerned and would make an important contribution to peace and security in the Middle East and in the whole world. The operative portion of this draft resolution would have the Assembly renew its appeal to the governments concerned to undertake direct negotiations—with the assistance of the Conciliation Commission for Palestine, if they so desire—with a view to finding a solution, acceptable to all the parties concerned, for all the questions in dispute between them, including the question of the Arab refugees.

Two amendments to the U.S. draft resolution were submitted by Afghanistan, Ghana (which later asked that its name be deleted from sponsorship), Indonesia, and Pakistan. These amendments were in the form of additional paragraphs, one of which called for an increase in the membership of the UNCCP from three to five, and the other of which requested the reconstituted Commission "to take measures for the protection of the rights, property, and interests of the Palestine Arab refugees." The Arab Representatives made clear in statements to the Committee that these proposed amendments were designed to lay the groundwork for the appointment of an international custodian of the properties left behind by the Arab refugees in what is now Israel.

On December 19, the Committee voted on the proposals before it. In support of the resolution sponsored by the United States, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton, noted that the United States had made clear from the outset its opposition to any proposal which would cut across the UNCCP's initiative or affect

adversely whatever prospects there might be for its useful continuance. The United States sincerely believed that the Commission should be allowed to proceed undisturbed with the tentative steps taken thus far, and that the parties involved should cooperate.

On December 19 the Committee approved by simple majority votes the two amendments submitted by Afghanistan, Indonesia, and Pakistan and supported by the Arab delegations. The enlargement of the UNCCP was approved by a vote of 47 (including the Arabs) to 36 (Israel, U.S.), with 24 abstentions. The draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by a rollcall vote of 74 (including the Arabs, U.S.) to 1 (Israel), with 23 abstentions. The 16-power draft resolution favoring direct Israel-Arab negotiations was rejected by a vote of 44 (Israel) to 34 (Arabs, U.S.), with 20 abstentions. After the vote, the U.S. Representative pointed out that as the amendments received less than a two-thirds vote and, therefore, presumably would not be included in the U.S. resolution as finally adopted by the General Assembly, the United States had voted in favor of the resolution as amended. As to his vote against the other draft resolution, he said that the United States was entirely in favor of the principles involved and that it credited the sponsors with the highest of motives. However, the United States did not feel that the suggestion for direct negotiations was in order at this particular time, or that it would contribute to the success of the Johnson mission.

On the following day, December 20, the Palestine refugee question was taken up in the plenary session. Before the vote, the Representatives of Israel and Saudi Arabia commented on the U.S. draft resolution as amended. The Representative of Israel, speaking against two paragraphs inserted by the amendment process, stated that the UNCCP could not carry out such a mandate as was proposed. He held that the objective of "this thinly-veiled United Nations custodianship proposal was not to do something helpful for the welfare of the refugees, but to advance towards purely political objectives." He asserted that the Arab delegations were seeking to "scrap a conciliation commission and substitute for it a coercion commission." The Representative of Saudi Arabia criticized the UNCCP for its "fourteen-year failure." He stated the Arabs would like to have a Commission with "wide representation, representing all ideologies, representing all geographic areas of the world." He contended that the sovereignty of Israel was limited by the General Assembly's 1947 resolution (which recommended the partition of Palestine) and that the refugees were entitled to the rent and income from properties left behind.

The U.S. delegation requested separate votes on the paragraphs which had resulted from the two amendments, and the Representative of Morocco requested a rollcall vote on operative paragraph 1, con-

cerning the present work of the UNCCP. The proposal to enlarge the UNCCP failed of the required two-thirds majority by a vote of 44 (including the Arabs) to 29 (Israel, U.S.), with 25 abstentions. The amendment dealing with property was stricken by a vote of 40 (Arabs) to 37 (Israel, U.S.), with 21 abstentions. Operative paragraph 1 was adopted by 64 (U.S.) to 14 (including the Arabs), with 21 (Israel) abstentions. The U.S. resolution, as originally tabled, was adopted by 62 (Israel) to 0, with 37 (Arabs) abstentions.

Financial Pledges for 1962 UNRWA Program

On December 6 pledges were made by contributing governments to the UNRWA program for calendar year 1962. Thirty-two governments pledged a total equivalent to $32,500,000. The Agency's 1962 target had been set at $40 million.

On behalf of the United States, Ambassador Clifton R. Wharton noted that the U.S. delegation would be supporting practical proposals designed to aid the refugees themselves. He expressed hope that the governments directly concerned would not seek to frustrate positive efforts toward forward movement. In viewing the treatment of this grave problem over the years, one was struck by the contrast between the material and political support which the U.S. Government and certain other governments had afforded the refugees; and, on the other hand, the failure of some governments to give any assistance in meeting the needs of the refugees. He noted that the contributors and the refugees alike could be gratified that the program to rectify abuses in the distribution of relief supplies had been intensified. However, much more needed to be done in this regard and the United States hoped that all the host governments would find it possible to cooperate more actively and decisively with the Agency's efforts to insure that those refugees who needed UNRWA's services received them, and that certain fraudulent practices were ceased. The U.S. spokesman warmly endorsed the Agency's vocational training program, and recalled that the U.S. Government had contributed an extra $500,000 to it during the last U.S. fiscal year.

Ambassador Wharton announced a pledge of $24.7 million to UNRWA for the current U.S. fiscal year. A portion of this contribution again would be made in the form of food commodities. The contribution would be made available to the Agency to the extent that it did not exceed 70 percent of the total governmental contributions to UNRWA. This very considerable percentage represented the proportion of U.S. contributions in recent years. It was a mark of genuine United States concern for the refugees, but it should not be assumed that the United States would in any and every eventuality continue to contribute at such a high ratio, the U.S. spokesman

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stated. If the governments directly concerned indicate little or no disposition to move forward realistically on this problem of grave humanitarian and political consequence, perhaps alternative means of helping the refugees should be explored. The U.S. Representative stressed that the U.S. pledge therefore in no way prejudged his Government's stand on the question of extending UNRWA's mandate. Over 90 percent of UNRWA's resources were made available by only three governments, and this indicated an obviously inadequate degree of international concern for this truly international problem.

United Nations Emergency Force

The U.N. Emergency Force (UNEF), to which the United States contributes financial support but does not contribute troops, continued to play an important role in maintaining the peace and relative stability which prevailed along the Egypt-Israel Armistice Demarcation Line (ADL) and International Frontier (IF) during 1961. Despite the demands of the Congo operation upon some of the national contingents of the UNEF, the Force was maintained at approximately the same level as 1960 (440 officers and 4,600 men). The 16th General Assembly decided to continue the Force at approximately this same level during 1962 (see p. 343).

The Secretary-General of the United Nations, in his report to the 16th General Assembly on UNEF dated August 30, 1961, stated:

> . . . In the period under review there have been no changes of significance bearing upon the functioning of UNEF. The strong need for its presence continues undiminished and it continues to be definitely the case that the Force cannot effectively discharge its present responsibilities with any less strength than it now has.
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> Throughout the period covered by this report, quiet has prevailed in the area. Constant vigilance by UNEF sentries and patrols, by day and by night, continues to be, as in previous years, an effective influence in restraining infiltration activities across the Armistice Demarcation Line and in the prevention of incidents along the Line. The relatively few incidents that have occurred have been of a very minor nature. It may be noted that agricultural and grazing activities now take place without molestation on both sides of the Line and up to the Line itself. In general, there has been no resort to force by UNEF, the mere presence of armed personnel on the spot being adequate to prevent incidents. On one occasion, however, when an armed infiltrator fired at a patrol in order to resist apprehension, United Nations troops had to take appropriate action in self-defense. Air violations, on the other hand, have been numerous. On two occasions, interception developed into air combat, during one of which a fighter plane was shot down.
>
> UNEF was called upon to provide additional troops on an emergency basis for the United Nations operation in the Congo (ONUC). The equivalent of two companies was dispatched from the Swedish battalion immediately after it had arrived in the area on rotation on 16 April 1961.

The basic organization, deployment and operational functions of the Force remain the same. The over-all strength of the Force as at 31 July 1961 reflects a decrease from last year's strength of approximately 200 men, which is accounted for by the removal of the two Swedish companies referred to above. It is assumed that this deficiency will be corrected during the next rotation. The countries providing contingents to the Force are the same, i.e., Brazil, Canada, Denmark, India, Norway, Sweden and Yugoslavia.

The numerical strength of each national contingent, as of December 1, 1961, was as follows:

Contingents	Officers	Other ranks	Total
Brazil	32	494	526
Canada	83	842	925
Denmark	48	516	564
India	77	1,176	1,253
Norway	87	534	621
Sweden	31	381	412
Yugoslavia	81	644	725
Total	439	4,587	5,026

During 1961 UNEF continued to be deployed along the western side of the Egypt-Israel Armistice Demarcation Line and the International Frontier, covering a distance of 273 kilometers. The Sinai coast from the northern end of the Gulf of Aqaba to the Straits of Tiran, a further distance of 187 kilometers, was kept under observation by UNEF air reconnaissance. As a consequence of the move of two Swedish companies to the Congo, the number of platoons available for patrolling and guard duties along the ADL, the IF and elsewhere, was reduced to 64 as against last year's total of 70. The functions and responsibilities, however, continued to be the same. Forty-five and one-half platoons were employed on the ADL and the IF, 10 on guard and protective duties, and 10½ in reserve. The total number of officers and men employed on operational duties was thus approximately 2,700. The remainder consisted of administrative and ancillary troops.

By day the entire length of the ADL was kept under observation from a series of 72 intervisible observation posts (OP's). Each OP is manned during daylight hours by shifts of approximately 6 hours. By night the sentries are replaced by patrols varying in strength from five to seven men. These patrols move on foot and cover the length of the ADL on an average of three times each night. Platoon camps, to the rear of the OP's, each hold a reserve detachment available to go to the aid of an OP or patrol should the need arise. Telephone communication by day, and a system of flare signals supplemented by wireless at night, insure a speedy response to calls for assistance.

Along the IF, rough terrain and scattered, uncleared minefields continued to restrict the access routes for potential infiltrators and tended to confine their activities to certain areas. These sensitive areas were patroled, as in the past, by the Canadian reconnaissance squadron and the Yugoslav reconnaissance battalion.

A detachment of approximately one and one-half platoons of the Swedish battalion, with Canadian administrative troops, was stationed at Sharm-el-Sheikh to keep the Straits of Tiran under constant observation. The detachment has been reduced in size to promote greater efficiency and economy and the task has been permanently allotted to the Swedish battalion instead of rotating detachments from different battalions.

South Africa

South Africa's racial problems were considered at both the resumed session of the 15th General Assembly early in 1961 and the first part of the 16th General Assembly in the latter part of 1961. "Question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa," was on the agendas of both sessions, for the ninth and tenth consecutive years. Resolutions on *apartheid* were adopted which were quite similar in content and which were adopted by near-unanimous votes. These resolutions deplored South Africa's "continued and total disregard" of its Charter obligations, affirmed that South Africa's racial policies were "a flagrant violation of the Charter," called upon South Africa to bring its "policies and conduct" into conformity with its Charter obligations, and urged all states to act to "bring about an abandonment" of South Africa's racial policies. Stronger resolutions on *apartheid* embodying the concept of diplomatic and economic sanctions against South Africa were introduced at both sessions but failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority.

Resolutions on "Treatment of Peoples of Indian and Indo-Pakistan Origin in South Africa" were introduced and passed at both the 15th and 16th sessions. In almost identical language they called upon the South African Government to enter into negotiations with the Governments of India and Pakistan and invited members of the United Nations to use their good offices to bring about the negotiations.

On October 11, during the general debate in the 16th General Assembly, Foreign Minister Louw spoke in defense of the policy of *apartheid* and in rebuttal of some of the speeches by other delegations attacking this policy. His speech touched off a reaction among some of the other delegations which resulted in a motion of censure being passed by the General Assembly.

Apartheid

Consideration at Resumed Session of Fifteenth General Assembly

Inasmuch as the Special Political Committee was unable to consider this item at the 15th session prior to adjournment, it was carried over to the resumed session where it was considered by the Committee at 14 meetings held between March 24 and April 10, 1961.

During the course of the Committee debate, in which the South African delegation did not participate, there was almost unanimous agreement that South Africa had a definite obligation under the U.N. Charter to abandon its policy of *apartheid* and that the United Nations was competent to discuss and make recommendations on this question. There was also general recognition of the potential threat to the peace and security of South Africa, and possibly other parts of Africa as well, should the Government of South Africa refuse to modify its racial policies. There was disagreement as to what the United Nations should or could legally do to bring about a change should the South African Government continue to disregard the resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council. Most of the African delegations and some of the Arab and Asian delegations believed that the United Nations should consider imposing a broad range of economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa should it fail to heed the United Nations. Most of the European and Latin American delegations believed this course to be either unwise or beyond the competence of the General Assembly to recommend, or both. A number of Asian delegations expressed reservations about such drastic proposals as the imposition of sanctions.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton, stated on March 30 that: "Apartheid is a repudiation by the Union of South Africa of its pledge, as a member of the United Nations and under Article 56 of the Charter, to take action for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55. . . . The Union of South Africa is clearly obligated to observe these human rights; instead it has deliberately adopted policies which disregard this obligation and has pronounced these policies as right and just. Indeed, it has made racial discrimination its acknowledged law of the land."

Having set forth the U.S. position on South Africa's obligations, he went on to address himself to the problem of how the situation could best be corrected:

> I submit that our paramount consideration should be, not punitive action against a recalcitrant government, but the welfare of apartheid's unfortunate victims themselves. Will their welfare be bettered by harsh measures which would fall, not so much on the governmental leaders we are trying to influence, as on all the South African people, and which might well serve to harden the hard core of racial intolerance and stifle the emerging voices of reason? Might

such measures result in increased oppression and exploitation of the very ones we are seeking to help?

There is no delegate present here who does not desire that this problem be settled in an intelligent and peaceful manner—for the alternatives fill one with anxious foreboding. Only the Government of the Union of South Africa itself, of its own free will, can lead the way to a peaceful solution.

On April 3 India, Ceylon, Malaya, and the United Arab Republic (which subsequently withdrew its sponsorship) introduced a draft resolution which: recalled, *inter alia*, that South Africa had failed to comply with repeated requests and demands of the United Nations and world opinion to reconsider or revise its racial policies; deplored such continued and total disregard; deprecated policies based on racial discrimination as reprehensible and repugnant to human dignity; requested all states to consider taking such separate and collective action as was open to them to bring about the abandonment of these policies; affirmed that the racial policies being pursued by the Government of the Union of South Africa were a flagrant violation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights and inconsistent with the obligations of a member state; noted with grave concern that these policies had led to international friction and that their continuance endangered international peace and security; reminded the Government of the Union of South Africa of the requirement in article 2 (2), of the Charter that all members shall fulfill in good faith the obligations assumed by them under the Charter; and called upon the Government of the Union of South Africa once again to bring its policies and conduct into conformity with its obligations under the Charter.

This draft resolution was adopted by the Special Political Committee on April 10th by a vote of 93 (U.S.) to 1 (Portugal), with no abstentions. The Union of South Africa was absent.

A second draft resolution, also introduced on April 3 and sponsored by 24 African states plus Cuba and Indonesia, was similar to the India-Ceylon-Malaya resolution with the exception of two additional operative paragraphs (paragraphs 5 and 6). The first of these "recommended to all states to consider taking the following steps:

(a) To break off diplomatic relations with the Union Government, or to refrain from establishing such relations,
(b) To close the ports of each State to all vessels flying the South African flag,
(c) To enact legislation prohibiting the ships of each State from entering South African ports,
(d) To boycott all South African goods and to refrain from exporting goods to South Africa,
(e) To refuse landing and passage facilities to all aircraft belong-

ing to the Government and companies registered under the laws of the Union of South Africa."

The second additional paragraph called the attention of the Security Council to the recommendations contained in the previous paragraph.

This draft resolution was adopted by the Committee on April 10 by a vote of 47 to 29 (U.S.), with 18 abstentions.

On April 13, 1961, the two draft resolutions were voted on in the General Assembly. The India-Ceylon-Malaya resolution to which Afghanistan and Indonesia had added their sponsorship was adopted by a vote of 95 (U.S.) to 1 (Portugal), with no abstentions. The Union of South Africa was absent.

The 26-power draft resolution was put to a vote by paragraph. Operative paragraph five, recommending the consideration of sanctions, received a vote of 42 to 34 (U.S.), with 21 abstentions—less than the necessary two-thirds vote. After the defeat of this operative paragraph, the Assembly decided, by a vote of 66 to 0, with 25 abstentions, not to vote on the resolution as a whole.

Consideration at Sixteenth General Assembly

In a letter dated July 18, 1961, 46 countries requested that the item: "The question of race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policies of *apartheid* of the Government of the Republic of South Africa" be included in the agenda of the 16th session of the General Assembly. (The Union of South Africa became the Republic of South Africa on May 31, 1961.) An attached explanatory memorandum stated that the resolution that was adopted by an overwhelming majority at the 15th session of the General Assembly had brought out even more clearly than before the great concern felt by the United Nations and its determination to see the end of the policies of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in South Africa. It had, however, failed to bring about any change in the policies of the Republic of South Africa. Those policies continued with increasing ruthlessness and disregard of world opinion and of the successive resolutions adopted by the United Nations.

On September 25, 1961, the General Assembly decided to include the item on its agenda, over the objection of the South African Representative who stated that inclusion contravened the terms of article 2(7), of the Charter. Article 2(7) declares that nothing in the Charter authorizes intervention "in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state."

The item was allocated to the Special Political Committee where it was considered at 22 meetings held between October 23 and November 14, 1961.

While the course of debate in Committee generally followed that of the 15th session, the tone was considerably sharper in criticism of the South African Government and its racial policies. There was widespread condemnation of the South African Government for its refusal in any way to respond to or comply with the recommendations and resolutions of the United Nations and there was almost unanimous denunciation of both the policy and practice of *apartheid.*

Disagreement remained over what course of action the United Nations should follow in light of South Africa's intransigence. Some African states, whose views were echoed by the Soviet bloc, called for the early imposition of an economic and commercial boycott against South Africa, coupled with its expulsion from the United Nations. Other African states advocated less extreme sanctions (e.g., breaking of diplomatic relations). Asian and Arab opinion was again divided, while the European and Latin American delegations generally opposed sanctions.

The Republic of South Africa's Foreign Minister was present in the Committee throughout the debate and made frequent replies to the speeches of other delegates on points of order, although he took the position that the Committee had "neither the constitutional nor the moral right" to discuss his Government's policy of "separate development for the non-white population."

The U.S. position was expounded clearly and forcefully by its Representative, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton, in the Special Political Committee on October 24:

> We are once again faced in this Committee with the problem of the racial policies of the Government of South Africa and their consequences. I want to state in unmistakable terms that the United States abhors and actively opposes the policy of *apartheid.*
>
> All of the Governments represented here today know that the United States has, in the Security Council and in this Committee, expressed its uncompromising opposition to the policy of racial discrimination summed up in the word *apartheid.* What is not so well known is that the United States has, in private diplomatic approaches to the Government of the Republic of South Africa, reinforced the depth and strength of its public views on apartheid by vigorous private but official representations that a change in policy is called for.
>
> . . . . . .
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> The results of a continuation of the policies and practices of the past decade could very well produce a situation which would rock the entire continent of Africa. I say this because at the same time that the rights of the non-white population of South Africa have been diminishing, the aspirations of all Africans have rightfully been increasing.
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> . . . . . .
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> We must not despair when our efforts seem to bear no fruit. We must persevere, remembering that no man, no group of men, no government is strong enough to resist indefinitely the conscience of mankind. How and when the

South African Government will abandon its hateful racial policies we cannot know, but abandon them it will. And we believe, as an act of faith in our Organization, that the work of our Committee should and must play an important and responsible role in ending a bleak and unhappy chapter in the history of the African Continent and in opening up a brighter future for all Africans.

On October 30 a draft resolution was introduced by 11 African states, who were subsequently joined as sponsors by 18 additional African states plus Cuba and Indonesia. This resolution was quite similar to that introduced by the African group at the 15th General Assembly, with the exception of one additional operative paragraph (five) requesting the Security Council to hold "an early discussion of the continued membership of the Republic of South Africa in the United Nations." The resolution contained an operative paragraph (six) recommending the consideration of sanctions which was identical with that contained in the resolution introduced at the 15th session, as well as an operative paragraph (seven) calling the attention of the Security Council to the recommendations in the paragraph on sanctions.

This draft resolution was adopted by the Committee on November 13 by a vote of 55 to 26 (U.S.), with 20 abstentions.

India, Ceylon, Malaya, Afghanistan, and Venezuela submitted on October 31 a second draft resolution which was virtually identical to that introduced by India, Ceylon, and Malaya at the 15th session and adopted. Denmark, Norway and Togo (which did not cosponsor the African draft resolution) later added their sponsorship to this draft resolution. Three admendments to the eight-power draft resolution were submitted by Ethiopia, the U.S.S.R., and Pakistan, respectively. An amendment submitted November 10, 1961, by Ethiopia provided an additional operative paragraph calling the attention of the Security Council to the provisions of article 11, paragraph 3, of the Charter and requesting it to consider what measures should be taken against the Republic of South Africa for its persistent violations of the Charter of the United Nations. An amendment submitted by the U.S.S.R., also on November 10, provided an additional operative paragraph whereby the Assembly would further call upon all states to deny to the Government of the Republic of South Africa any support and assistance, including assistance in the form of arms and war material, which might be used for the purpose of intensifying the violence against the indigenous population of South Africa and causing further bloodshed. An amendment submitted on November 13 by Pakistan provided for the insertion of an additional operative paragraph calling upon all member states to refrain from exporting petroleum to South Africa.

On November 13 the Special Political Committee voted on the eight-power resolution. The first part of the Ethiopian amendment con-

sisting of the words "Calls the attention of the Security Council to the provision of Article 11(3) of the Charter," was adopted by a vote of 70 votes to 3, with 26 (U.S.) abstentions. The second part of the amendment was adopted by a rollcall vote of 54 to 33 (U.S.), with 14 abstentions. The amendment as a whole was adopted by 55 votes to 21 (U.S.), with 24 abstentions. The Soviet amendment was adopted by a rollcall vote of 50 to 29 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions. The amendment submitted by Pakistan was adopted by a rollcall vote of 44 to 31 (U.S.), with 26 abstentions. The eight-power draft resolution as a whole, as amended, was adopted by a rollcall vote of 72 to 2, with 27 (U.S.) abstentions.

On November 28, 1961, the eight-power draft resolution was voted on in the General Assembly. The paragraph introduced in the Pakistan amendment calling for cessation of petroleum exports was voted upon separately, but failed to acquire the requisite two-thirds majority. The vote was 47 to 32 (U.S.), with 21 abstentions. The paragraph introduced in the Soviet amendment calling for denial of certain support and assistance also failed in a separate vote to obtain the requisite two-thirds majority. The vote was 50 to 33 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions. The paragraph introduced in the Ethiopian amendment was modified in a separate vote, when the section requesting the Security Council to consider taking measures failed to receive the requisite two-thirds majority, the vote being 52 to 30 (U.S.), with 18 abstentions. The paragraph as revised merely called the attention of the Council to the provision of article 11(3) of the Charter and was passed by a vote of 70 to 2, with 24 (U.S.) abstentions. The resolution as a whole, without the Pakistan, Soviet, and part of the Ethiopian paragraphs, was adopted by a vote of 97 (U.S.) to 2 (Portugal and South Africa), with 1 (Guinea) abstention.

The 31-power draft resolution was also voted on in the General Assembly on November 28, 1961. The United Kingdom delegation requested a separate vote on operative paragraphs five, six, and seven of the draft resolution (those on South Africa's continued U.N. membership, on consideration of sanctions, and on possible Security Council action on sanctions). A vote was taken on the British motion, which was adopted by 47 (U.S.) to 42, with 4 abstentions. A vote was then taken on the three operative paragraphs, as a unit. The vote was 48 to 31 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions. Those voting in favor included: Afghanistan, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Ceylon, Chad, Congo (Léopoldville), Cuba, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jordan, Liberia, Libya, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Upper Volta, Yemen, Yugo-

slavia, and the Soviet bloc (10). Those opposed included: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom, and the United States. Thus, the three operative paragraphs failed to receive the requisite two-thirds majority. After the defeat of these operative paragraphs, the sponsors withdrew the entire resolution without pressing it to a vote.

Treatment of Peoples of India and Indo-Pakistan Origin

Consideration at Resumed Session of Fifteenth General Assembly

Inasmuch as the Special Political Committee was unable to consider this item at the 15th session prior to adjournment, it was carried over to the resumed session where it was considered by the Committee at five meetings held between March 21 and March 24, 1961.

The U.S. position was to urge the Union of South Africa to implement past recommendations of the General Assembly on this question and to enter into bilateral negotiations with India and Pakistan. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton, pointed out that the restoration of normal diplomatic relations between South Africa and India and Pakistan would be "a harmonious prelude to the negotiations which we all hope will materialize."

On March 22, 1961, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Ghana, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Mexico, Nigeria, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia submitted a draft resolution, under the terms of which the General Assembly would, *inter alia:* (1) note that the Governments of India and Pakistan had again reiterated their readiness to enter into negotiations with the Government of the Union of South Africa; (2) note with deep regret that the Government of the Union of South Africa had not replied to the communications from the Governments of India and Pakistan on that subject, and had not yet shown any disposition to arrive at a solution of the problem in accordance with the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the repeated recommendations of the General Assembly; (3) draw the attention of the Union Government to the repeated appeals of the Assembly to cooperate to this end; (4) urge the Government of the Union to enter into negotiations with the Governments of India and Pakistan; (5) invite member states to use their good offices in such a manner as might be appropriate to bring about the negotiations envisaged by the General Assembly; and (6) invite the parties concerned to report to the General Assembly regarding any progress which might be made.

The draft resolution was voted on in Committee on March 24, when it was passed by a vote of 71 (U.S.) to 0, with 6 (Australia, Belgium, China, France, Portugal, U.K.) abstentions. The draft resolution was adopted in the General Assembly on April 13, 1961, by a vote of 78 to 0, with 2 abstentions.

Consideration at Sixteenth General Assembly

In letters dated July 19, 1961, and July 20, 1961, respectively, the representatives of India and Pakistan requested inclusion in the agenda of the 16th General Assembly of the item "Treatment of People of Indian and Indo-Pakistan Origin in the Republic of South Africa." The explanatory memoranda accompanying these letters stated that, in accordance with the 15th General Assembly resolution, India and Pakistan had communicated to the Government of the Republic of South Africa expressing their readiness to enter into negotiations but had received no indication that the latter Government was prepared to comply with the General Assembly resolution and enter into negotiations on the question.

On September 25 the General Assembly decided, over the objection of the South African Representative, who again stated that inclusion contravened the terms of article 2(7) of the Charter, to include the item in its agenda and referred it to the Special Political Committee for consideration and report. The Committee considered the question in the course of four meetings, held on November 17, 20, and 24, 1961.

The U.S. Representative, Marguerite Stitt Church, speaking on November 20, set forth the U.S. position as follows:

> We have heard from the distinguished Representatives of India and Pakistan the sad and degrading report of the discrimination imposed on South Africans of Asian origin in their own South African homeland—their homeland. I would point out, for many, many decades. I term that report sad and degrading, Mr. Chairman, because no people in any country of this world should be discriminated against by any of their fellow citizens because of difference of race. Such racial policies, indeed, do not so much degrade their victims: they degrade instead those who, lacking due regard for the brotherhood of man and inate human dignity, impose such government restrictions. I reemphasize, Mr. Chairman, racial discrimination degrades most those who support it and those who condone it.

On November 16, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Ghana, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Mexico, Norway, Philippines, Poland, Sweden, and Venezuela (and later Ceylon, Liberia, and Syria) submitted a draft resolution which was virtually identical with the resolution adopted by the 15th General Assembly. The Committee passed the draft resolution unanimously on November 24, and on November 28, 1961, the resolution was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly.

Censure of Speech of South African Foreign Minister

During the general debate in the General Assembly, Foreign Minister Louw gave his speech on October 11, 1961. In this speech he vigorously defended and attempted to justify his Government's policy of *apartheid*, by pointing out what he believed to be the benefits which had accrued to the nonwhite population of South Africa from *apartheid* and making a detailed argument that in many respects (material needs, housing, social services, education) "far more is done in South Africa for the Bantu and other non-whites than in any other state in the whole African continent." Mr. Louw went on to say the conditions prevailing in most of the states and territories of central and north Africa were those of "political unrest and economic instability," whereas, "there is peace, prosperity and economic stability in South Africa."

This speech produced an immediate hostile reaction from all of the African members of the United Nations. The Representative of Liberia moved that the whole speech "be deleted from the official records of this Assembly." The Representative of Senegal stated that the speech was "an unqualified insult to all Africans present in this hall."

After considerable discussion, the Liberian motion to delete the speech from the records was withdrawn and the Representative of Liberia moved, instead, "that this Assembly pass a vote of censure against the Government of South Africa, or its Representative, for a statement here today which was offensive, fictitious and erroneous. . . ." This motion was duly voted upon and was carried by a vote of 67 to 1 (South Africa), with 20 (Australia, Austria, Cambodia, Canada, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Dominican Republic, Finland, Guatemala, Ireland, Italy, Japan, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Portugal, Spain, Thailand) abstentions. The United States, Belgium, Denmark, El Salvador, France, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom announced that they were not participating in the voting.

The same day (October 11) the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, issued the following statement on the U.S. decision not to participate in the voting:

The United States did not participate in the vote censuring the speech of the Foreign Minister of the Republic of South Africa.

The United Nations was established as a forum for free and untrammeled speech. Through its history speakers have been permitted the widest range of expression and comment. While we reject the views of the Foreign Minister of South Africa on the subject of apartheid and have so stated many times, we resolutely support his right—and the right of every speaker before the General Assembly—to state his views. We believe, in addition, that a motion of censure should have been given more serious and thoughtful consideration before action was taken.

South Tyrol–Alto Adige

The first part of the 15th General Assembly in a resolution (1497 (XV)) on the status of the German-speaking element in the South Tyrol Province of Bolzano, adopted on October 31, 1960, urged Austria and Italy to resume negotiations on the implementation of the Paris Agreement of September 5, 1946. This Agreement had established a system designed to guarantee the German-speaking inhabitants of the Province "complete equality of rights with the Italian-speaking elements." Austria had maintained that the German-speaking inhabitants did not enjoy this equality. Should negotiations not lead to satisfactory results within a reasonable time, the resolution recommended that the parties should consider solving their differences by "any of the means provided in the Charter of the United Nations including recourse to the International Court of Justice or any other peaceful means of their own choice."

Throughout much of 1961, Italy and Austria attempted to solve their differences through a series of bilateral negotiations. Meetings between the Italian and Austrian Foreign Ministers at Milan (January 27–28) and Klagenfurt (May 24–25) and between experts at Zürich (June 13–17) failed to resolve the differences. Austria insisted on statutory delegation of legislative and administrative powers to Bolzano Province; Italy offered to delegate certain administrative functions by ministerial decree not requiring parliamentary action. At a Foreign Ministers meeting on June 24–25 in Zürich, Austria said further bilateral negotiations were useless and suggested recourse to other peaceful means. Italy stated that the bilateral phase had not been exhausted but requested Austria to state its position in a note. The Austrian note of July 4 proposed the establishment of an International Commission of Inquiry. Italian Interior Minister Scelba met with moderate South Tyrol leaders on July 24 to discuss possibilities of a direct settlement, and in a press interview on August 9, the Austrian Foreign Minister supported direct Italian-South Tyrol negotiations. On August 15 the Italian Government announced establishment of a South Tyrol-Italian Committee (Scelba Commission) to investigate the situation and recommend a solution. The group commenced work on September 13.

Meanwhile, in July, the Austrian Cabinet decided to report to the General Assembly lack of progress since the adoption of the resolution of the previous year and to request U.N. assistance in the choice of further peaceful means of resolving the dispute.

On July 18, 1961, Austria requested inscription on the agenda of the 16th General Assembly of an item entitled, "The Status of the German-speaking Element in the Province of Bolzano (Bozen); Im-

plementation of Resolution 1497 (XV) of the General Assembly of the United Nations of 31 October 1960." In its explanatory memorandum, Austria stated that "In compliance with these recommendations (Resolution 1497), Austria and Italy resumed their bilateral negotiations early in 1961 in an effort to arrive at a reconciliation of their different points of view. . . . However, since it proved impossible to reach a narrowing down of the differences of opinion, all these efforts, unfortunately, failed." Austria submitted this item, the memorandum stated, "in order to request the General Assembly's assistance in selecting another peaceful means for the solution of the dispute, in accordance with General Assembly Resolution 1497 (XV) of 31 October 1960."

On September 22, 1961, Italy distributed through the United Nations a memorandum stating its position. "The Italian Government," it noted, "with a view to safeguarding the characteristics and the development of the German-speaking population of Bolzano Province . . . has recently undertaken a scheme for a joint examination of the local situation, as a means of overcoming the difficulties involved, and representatives of the various sections of the interested population have declared their readiness to participate. To this end, a special committee has been appointed composed of members of Parliament, representatives of the local government and economic interests, chosen according to the respective proportions of the linguistic groups. This committee began its proceedings on September 13. Its tasks will best be achieved if the work will be conducted in a peaceful atmosphere and in the absence of any sort of pressure." In conclusion, the memorandum stated that the Italian Government "is still prepared to make every possible effort towards the execution of the Resolution 1497 (XV)."

Between November 15 and November 23, the Special Political Committeee of the General Assembly considered this question in six meetings. During the debate most of the members emphasized the need for continuing efforts to find a solution based on implementation of the resolution of the past year. Attempts were made to draft a resolution which would be acceptable to both parties. Basically, the main points of difference between Italy and Austria were that the Italians wanted a resolution deploring terrorism and calling for bilateral negotiations or recourse to an international juridical body, while the Austrians wanted a recommendation that, if the problem remained unresolved, it should be submitted to some type of political arbitration.

On November 22 Cyprus, India, and Indonesia submitted a draft resolution under which the General Assembly would invite Austria and Italy to continue bilateral negotiations aimed at solving the

dispute on the basis of the 1946 Paris Agreement. The draft resolution recommended that in the event of failure of such efforts, the parties "agree upon the designating of organs or persons" for the purpose of facilitating the further implementation of the resolution adopted the previous year. In introducing the resolution, the Representative of Cyprus stated that the Paris Agreement had provided a means of settling this long-standing dispute. He said that, while Italy's sovereignty should be safeguarded, the German-speaking element in the Province of Bolzano should be given the democratic rights to which they were entitled under the Agreement and maintained that whether or not the Province had autonomous legislative or regional powers should not be difficult to settle.

The Italian Representative stated that his delegation could not accept the resolution, which was based on an interpretation of the Paris Agreement which was "not our own." He recalled that Italy had urged recourse to the International Court of Justice, "the only body that can make a juridical interpretation." If the sponsors of the draft felt that last year's resolution was a "proper" one, then last year's resolution should not be modified as this draft sought to do.

Fourteen speakers took the floor during the debate in the morning, and the Special Committee heard 13 speakers at the night session. Speaking for the United States, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton noted that the question before the Committee was the implementation of the past year's resolution. The United States had followed with "sympathetic interest" the serious efforts made over the past year by Italy and Austria to achieve a settlement pursuant to the resolution. Particularly hopeful, in the opinion of the United States, was the establishment by Italy of the Scelba Commission. The U.S. Representative deplored the acts of violence which had made more difficult attempts to reach an accommodation. "It is our view," he concluded, "that . . . this body could best contribute to a solution of the problem by urging both parties to continue to carry forward their bilateral efforts in accordance with the terms of last year's resolution. Should these efforts prove fruitless, then my Government believes that recourse to the International Court of Justice, or any other body agreed upon by both the parties, would be the most promising method for achieving a lasting settlement we all hope for."

A revised resolution, which was accepted by Austria and Italy, was introduced November 23 by the three original sponsors (Cyprus, India, Indonesia) plus 11 others (Argentina, Chile, Greece, Guatemala, Ireland, Panama, Peru, Sweden, U.A.R., Uruguay, Yemen). This resolution was limited to recalling the previous year's resolution, noting with satisfaction that negotiations were taking place between the two parties but that the dispute remained unresolved, and, in its

sole operative paragraph, calling "for further efforts by the two parties concerned to find a solution in accordance with paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of the above-mentioned resolution [i.e., resolution 1497(XV)]." These paragraphs, as noted above, urged the two parties to resume negotiations with a view to finding a solution through implementation of the Paris Agreement of 1946; recommended that, in the event negotiations had not led to satisfactory results within a reasonable period, both parties would give favorable consideration to seeking a solution by "recourse to the International Court of Justice or any other peaceful means of their own choice"; and recommended that the countries refrain from any action which might impair their friendly relations.

The Special Political Committee unanimously adopted this resolution. The U.S. Representative paid tribute to the Foreign Ministers of Austria and Italy for their "statesmanship" in dealing with this awkward problem, and congratulated them on the "spirit of conciliation" they had shown. He also paid tribute to the sponsors of the revised resolution and their contribution to this "ultimate and happy solution."

On November 28, the General Assembly, without debate, unanimously adopted this resolution.

Tibet

The question of Tibet first came before the United Nations in November 1950 when, Chinese Communist military forces having invaded their country, the Tibetan Cabinet and National Assembly appealed to the Secretary-General, and El Salvador requested that an item on Tibet be added to the agenda of the 5th General Assembly. When this proposal was considered by the General Assembly's General Committee, the British and Indian Representatives urged that further U.N. consideration be deferred on the grounds that hope still existed for peaceful settlement by agreement between the parties. Accordingly, the Committee decided unanimously to adjourn consideration of the inclusion of the item and the question of Tibet did not arise again in the United Nations until the 14th session of the General Assembly in 1959.

Meanwhile, in 1951, Chinese Communist and Tibetan Representatives signed an agreement on measures for the "peaceful liberation" of Tibet in which the Chinese Communists pledged themselves to respect Tibet's regional autonomy, its existing political system, the established status, functions, and powers of the Dalai Lama, and the religious beliefs, customs, and habits of the Tibetan people. That the Chinese Communists had signally failed to honor any of these commitments, however, became fully evident early in 1959. In March

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of that year, the struggle that the Tibetan people had been carrying on since 1955 to preserve their traditional cultural and religious identity against armed Communist suppression erupted in an uprising in Lhasa of such proportions that the plight of the Tibetans could no longer be concealed from the world. Forced to flee to India, the Dalai Lama charged the Chinese Communists not only with having failed to live up to the agreement that they had forced upon the Tibetans in 1951 but also with directing a campaign of terror—involving forced labor, confiscation, deportation, and mass executions—against the Tibetan people and their religious institutions. These charges were fully supported in the report on Tibet issued in July 1959 by the International Commission of Jurists—a nongovernmental organization having consultative status with the United Nations. In this report, the Commission concluded that the human rights of the Tibetan people were being ruthlessly violated and that the evidence "points at least to a *prima facie* case of genocide against the People's Republic of China." In view of these circumstances, the 14th General Assembly passed a resolution calling for respect for the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people and for their distinctive cultural and religious life.

The 15th General Assembly was unable to discuss the question of Tibet owing to lack of time, although the item appeared on its agenda and Malaya and Thailand had introduced a draft resolution on the subject. At the final plenary meeting of that session, however, the Representative of Malaya expressed the hope that, if the Tibetan situation continued to be a source of grave concern, the 16th session of the General Assembly would not fail to consider it.

In its report to the plenary meeting of the 16th General Assembly on September 25, 1961, the General Committee, on the motion of Thailand and Malaya, recommended the inscription of the question of Tibet on the Assembly's agenda. Despite Soviet arguments that the United Nations had no jurisdiction in this matter, and that efforts to discuss it were "nothing but interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China," the Assembly accepted the General Committee's recommendation by a vote of 48 (U.S.) to 14, with 35 abstentions.

When the Assembly began its consideration of the Tibetan question in the General Assembly plenary meeting on December 19, 1961, it had before it a draft resolution sponsored by El Salvador, Malaya, Ireland, and Thailand. This draft resolution, recalling the Assembly's resolution of October 1959, expressed grave concern at continuing violation of the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people and suppression of their traditional and distinctive cultural and religious life, noted the severe hardships consequently suffered by the

Tibetans as evidenced by their large-scale exodus as refugees, and stated that these events increase international tension and violate the human rights set out in the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, including the principle of self-determination. The resolution reaffirmed the Assembly's conviction that respect for the principles of the Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is essential for the evolution of a peaceful world order based on the rule of law, renewed its call for the cessation of practices depriving the Tibetans of their fundamental human rights, including self-determination, and expressed the hope that member states would make all possible efforts to achieve the purposes of the resolution.

Opening the debate, the Representative of Malaya stated that all the evidence pointed to failure to comply with the resolution passed by the 14th General Assembly and indeed to further deterioration of the situation in Tibet. Citing the enormous increase in refugees from Tibet—an estimated 42,000 since January 1960—he pointed out that, according to the statements of these refugees, who obviously from their very number were representative of the general population and not of "a few reactionary feudal lords," adults were increasingly being conscripted for forced labor and children were increasingly being forcibly separated from their families and deported to China, violent and abusive measures were being taken in an effort to destroy religion, and starvation was widespread. Referring to the argument that the Tibetan question falls within the domestic jurisdiction of the Chinese Communist regime and is outside U.N. jurisdiction under article 2 (7) of the Charter, the Malayan Representative argued that "whatever the legal complexities attending the status of Tibet, the Tibetan people are entitled to choose their own way of life, at the very least in the context of their autonomy which they have traditionally enjoyed" and which the Assembly had recognized in its 1959 resolution.

Speaking for the United States, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton reminded the Assembly that the Charter requires respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all peoples and support for their efforts to gain self-government. Under these principles, he pointed out, one-third of the present members of the United Nations have gained their freedom since 1945. Nevertheless, he said, there are still vast areas of the world where ruthless totalitarianism has extinguished the light of freedom, foremost among which is the mainland of China whose Communist rulers seek also to subjugate the traditionally autonomous people of Tibet. The campaign of suppression carried out by these Communist rulers had been documented not only in the preliminary report of the International Com-

mission of Jurists but also in the full report, prepared by its Legal Inquiry Committee on Tibet, and published in August 1960. On the basis of their careful review of the facts, the U.S. Representative noted, the 11 members of this Committee—eight of whom came from countries of Asia and one from Africa—concluded that the Chinese Communists in Tibet were violating 16 separate articles of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Although in so doing the Chinese Communists might claim to be acting in the interests of reform and progress, the Jurists' report also found that Tibet's traditional social system, intertwined as it was with the Buddhist religion, enjoyed the full support of all strata of Tibetan society and that the people's standard of living before the Communist invasion had "compared very favorably with that of most Asian countries." The resistance of the Tibetan people to these so-called reforms, the U.S. Representative concluded, was evidenced not only by the willingness of untold thousands of Tibetans to give their lives in the struggle against them but also by the flight of over 75,000 people into exile.

Also speaking in support of the resolution, the Representative of the Republic of China cited still further evidence of the inhumanities being imposed by the Communists upon the people of Tibet—the fact, for example, that according to the evidence of refugees in India, Tibet as a result of "economic reform" is now experiencing the first famine of its history—and of the continued stubborn resistance of the Tibetan people. The Chinese Communists, he declared, are no more likely to heed a new resolution than they were to heed the Assembly's resolution of 1959; nevertheless in adopting the resolution before it, the General Assembly "will show that it is prepared to discharge its duty as the guardian of the conscience of mankind and that, in upholding the principles of the United Nations, it yields to no brutal force."

Explaining his Government's decision to vote in favor of the resolution, the British Representative declared that, in the past, the United Kingdom had recognized Chinese suzerainty over Tibet "only on the condition that Tibet retained its autonomy. We cannot agree that any such suzerainty entitles the Chinese Government to claim immunity from the condemnation of the world and to be able freely to impose on the Tibetan people in the spurious name of progress the terrible sufferings to which I have referred." The Representatives of El Salvador, Thailand, Ireland, and New Zealand (speaking also for Australia) made statements in support of the resolution.

In the face of the evidence presented by the United States and other speakers with respect to Chinese Communist violations of basic principles of human rights and freedoms, Representatives of the

Communist bloc (U.S.S.R., Czechoslovakia, Albania, Poland), once again denied the competence of the United Nations and argued that the Communist authorities were freeing the Tibetan people from "slavery" and "feudalism."

On December 20, 1961, 56 members of the Assembly voted in favor of the proposed resolution, with only 11 (Communist bloc (10) and Cuba) against and 29 abstentions (Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Ethiopa, Finland, France, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, U.A.R., Yemen, Yugoslavia).

West New Guinea (West Irian)

The dispute between the Netherlands and Indonesia over West New Guinea has continued since Indonesia's independence in 1949 and has been before the United Nations intermittently since 1954. The western half of the island of New Guinea was governed as part of the Netherlands East Indies prior to the establishment of an independent Indonesia. However, the question of the political status of West New Guinea was not settled when Indonesia gained independence. The Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty signed on December 27, 1949, provided in its first article: "The Kingdom of the Netherlands unconditionally and irrevocably transfers complete sovereignty over Indonesia to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia." The second article stated: "In view of the fact that it has not yet been possible to reconcile the views of the parties on New Guinea which therefore remain in dispute . . . the *status quo* of the residency of New Guinea shall be maintained with the stipulation that within a year from the date of transfer of sovereignty to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, the question of the political status of New Guinea be determined through negotiations between the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands."

Since that time all efforts to settle this dispute have been unsuccessful. The Netherlands continues to administer the area and claims that its sovereignty was unaffected by the Charter of Transfer of Sovereignty. Indonesia on the other hand maintains that West New Guinea is an integral part of its sovereign territory, and as such was included in the Indonesian Declaration of Independence of August 17, 1945.

Indonesia brought the question of West New Guinea before the 9th General Assembly in 1954 after bilateral negotiations between the two countries had failed. A draft resolution looking toward resumption

of negotiations was submitted, but failed to be adopted. The question of resumption of negotiations was again brought before the General Assembly by 15 African and Asian states in 1955. Shortly before the item was considered in committee, the Dutch and Indonesians agreed to negotiate bilaterally on several outstanding matters. As a result the General Assembly adopted without objection a resolution which expressed the hope that the problem would be solved peacefully and that the negotiations would be fruitful. A draft resolution establishing a good offices commission for the purpose of assisting negotiations between the two parties was introduced when the 11th General Assembly considered the same item. However, this draft resolution failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority.

At the 12th General Assembly in 1957, "The Question of West Irian (West New Guinea)," was again on the agenda. A draft resolution sponsored by Ceylon and 19 other nations was adopted by the Political and Security Committee but failed to obtain the necessary two-thirds vote in the General Assembly. It would have invited both parties to endeavor to find a solution of the dispute and would have requested the Secretary-General to assist in the implementation of the draft resolution and to submit a report of the progress to the General Assembly at its 13th session. Though the majority had favored the invitation to the parties to find a peaceful solution to the dispute, others believed that the proposed draft resolution could not produce any tangible results because the two parties could not even agree on the subject of future negotiations.

Throughout the consideration of this dispute by the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th Assemblies, the United States maintained a policy of neutrality, abstaining on all votes and not participating in the debate.

The West New Guinea issue was placed before the 16th General Assembly on the initiative of the Netherlands and was considered under the so-called "colonialism" item (see p. 53). In his statement before the 16th General Assembly during the general debate, Netherlands Foreign Minister Luns stated on September 26 that the sole purpose of the Netherlands in its West New Guinea policy was the granting of complete self-determination to the people. He said that in conformity with the resolution adopted by the 15th General Assembly concerning the Declaration on Colonialism his Government was prepared to terminate its sovereignty over the territory as soon as the right of self-determination was properly safeguarded. He requested the Assembly to assist in the application of the Declaration on Colonialism to West New Guinea. The Foreign Minister made the following proposals: (1) the Netherlands was prepared to place the administration and development of the territory under the active supervision of the United Nations and to accept a

General Assembly decision clearly guaranteeing the right to self-determination; (2) to this end the Netherlands was prepared to relinquish sovereignty to the peoples; (3) the Netherlands was prepared to transfer its powers to the extent required to an international authority established by or operated under the United Nations; (4) the Netherlands was prepared to continue its financial contribution to the development of the territory on the basis of the present annual level of about $30 million. The Foreign Minister further proposed that a U.N. commission be set up to investigate conditions in the territory, the population's opinion of the territory's present situation and future and the possibility of organizing an early plebiscite under the supervision of the United Nations. He suggested that on the basis of its findings the commission should report to the Assembly at its 17th session on the possibility of bringing the development of the territory, during the interim period, partially or wholely under the administration of an international development authority under the United Nations. On October 9 the Netherlands tabled a draft resolution incorporating the proposals made by Foreign Minister Luns.

The Indonesian position was outlined by Foreign Minister Subandrio on October 9 during the general debate. He contended that sovereignty over all of the former Netherlands West Indies, including West Irian, had already been transferred to Indonesia and that it remained only to remove Dutch control. The Foreign Minister summarized Indonesia's version of the relevant negotiations. Indonesia's patience had been exhausted when the Assembly failed to act in 1957, the Foreign Minister said. His Government had thereupon embarked on a policy of "total confrontation vis-a-vis the Netherlands, not only politically but also economically and militarily." He stated that if the Netherlands Government was prepared to relinquish its "so-called sovereignty over West Irian" and to seek a satisfactory solution of the dispute, the Government of Indonesia was prepared to enter into new negotiations. However, the Foreign Minister alleged, there was no sign of realism from the Netherlands Government, and Indonesia was prepared to face the worst vis-a-vis the Dutch in West Irian.

Doctor Subandrio quoted from President Sukarno's comments on Netherlands Foreign Minister Luns' plan, "The best way for the Netherlands is to transfer immediately its authority directly to Indonesia. But if the Netherlands for different reasons would prefer the medium of the United Nations for the immediate transfer of authority to Indonesia, Indonesia is prepared to consider that proposal seriously. If not based on this proposal, any intervention of the United Nations may only make the problem more acute and ex-

plosive." The Foreign Minister added that the Netherlands plan could not resolve the dispute because it had been presented as if the issue had no history and because it suggested that a peaceful solution of the issue could be attained without the participation or cooperation of Indonesia.

If the Netherlands were to transfer administration of the territory to Indonesia, Indonesia would have no objection to U.N. assistance and would adhere to the principle that the local Indonesians of West Irian would have full responsibility for the local autonomy of that region, said Subandrio.

On October 27 the Indonesian delegation circulated a *note verbale* covering a statement made by Foreign Minister Subandrio on October 24 in Djakarta. *Inter alia*, the Foreign Minister said that while his Government and the people of Indonesia patiently and resolutely hoped for a settlement with the Dutch which would complete the unification of Indonesian territory, there was a limit to that patience. If the Dutch preparations for "cutting West Irian loose are continued by force of arms" there would come a time when Indonesia would liberate its brothers in West Irian also by force.

In a memorandum attached to a letter dated November 2 to the President of the Assembly, the Netherlands delegation reviewed its position on the status of the territory and gave its view that self-determination for the Papuan people implied a free choice between integration with Indonesia, independence, and the possibility of future association with the other part of New Guinea and other islands of the Pacific region. Willingness was expressed to transfer all present powers to an international development authority if the United Nations so requested. The memorandum stated that the Netherlands proposals were not aimed against Indonesia. These proposals were submitted without consulting Indonesia because Indonesia had "persistently refused to recognize the right of self-determination of the Papuan people and had broken off diplomatic relations with the Netherlands." The memorandum held that the Netherlands was duty bound to reject suggestions that it should sacrifice the right of self-determination of the Papuans in exchange for economic gain or under duress.

Netherlands Foreign Minister Luns responded on November 8 to questions on why his delegation had "ignored" Indonesia in making its proposals. He said that the Netherlands had been unable to consult Indonesia beforehand because Indonesia had not only broken off diplomatic relations but had also refused to accept the normal procedure that a third country be allowed to represent Dutch interests in Indonesia. Moreover, the Indonesian leaders had reiterated that they could agree only to the handing over of the territory and people of

West New Guinea to Indonesia without any previous consultation of the Papuans. The Foreign Minister said that the legal issue whether sovereignty rested with the Netherlands or Indonesia was not so important as the future of the territory. The Netherlands had repeatedly offered to submit the legal issue to the International Court of Justice but Indonesia had refused to do so on the ground that the question was a political rather than a legal one. He held that no one except the Papuans was entitled to decide the future of the territory.

On November 9, in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr. Subandrio, said that his Government's policy of "total confrontation" had, by bringing about a realization on the part of the Netherlands that its "illegal occupation of West Irian by armed force can also be evicted by the opposing forces of Indonesia," created a favorable climate in Netherlands public opinion for relinquishing power in West Irian. Dr. Subandrio said that the Indonesian policy of total confrontation had been denounced as a policy of duress; but in the light of the historical background of Indonesia's struggle for independence, Dr. Subandrio expressed his hope that it had become clear to the Assembly who had used duress by virtue of superior military power from 1945 to 1949. Dr. Subandrio stated that the Indonesians had given ample proof of their peaceful nature when they came to the U.N. for support in the years 1954 through 1957. He recalled that the Indonesian resolutions did not obtain the required two-thirds vote and he asked what the Indonesian course was then. Was it to submit to the Netherlands foreign policy?

The Indonesian Foreign Minister said that he wanted to stress that if the Netherlands was interested in an accommodation with Indonesia, he would recognize in advance that such an accommodation must be a compromise between the points of view of both sides and he said that he could see no reason why, if both sides approached the problem with sincerity, a formula could not be found on the questions of self-determination and the authority of the U.N. The Indonesian spokesman concluded by observing that if the Assembly accepted the Netherlands draft resolution it meant the legalization of the use of force by the colonial power to reoccupy a part of Indonesia, and thus the Assembly would also imply the legalization of Indonesia's right to evict the Netherlands.

The Netherlands Representative stated on November 15 that the Indonesian Foreign Minister had made "a fleeting reference to the possibility that a formula on the questions of self-determination and the authority of the United Nations might be found" but it had been made clear to the Netherlands that the formula Subandrio had in mind was that Indonesia should take over the administration and at some time in the distant future would allow the Papuans to "confirm"

that they wished to remain with Indonesia. The Netherlands spokesman characterized this as "a mockery of the principle of free choice."

On November 20 another draft resolution was tabled by India and subsequently cosponsored by Bolivia, Congo (Léopoldville), Guinea, Liberia, Mali, Nepal, Syria, and the United Arab Republic. This draft resolution would have urged the Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands to engage in further negotiations under the aegis of the President of the General Assembly, with a view to finding a solution in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter. It would have requested the General Assembly President to facilitate bilateral negotiations.

At the same meeting the Indonesian Representative stressed that West Irian had been an integral part of the Netherlands East Indies. He claimed that the "hostile and grudging spirit" of the Netherlands toward Indonesia had to be removed before a settlement of either the West Irian, or the Netherlands-Indonesian disputes in general, was possible. As long as this spirit was "the guiding principle of the Netherlands foreign policy towards Indonesia" any concession from the Indonesian side would be interpreted as a sign of weakness and might only increase Netherlands aggressiveness towards Indonesia. The Indonesian spokesman said that in principle his Government would not object to entering into bilateral negotiations. He said also that the Indonesians attached the greatest importance to the welfare and progress of the West Irian peoples. Finally, he proposed a series of seven points calling, in part, for transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia but noting that if a transitional period were required in which the United Nations should play a role, Indonesia would give its full cooperation. He also said that neither side should initiate actions which could be interpreted as a unilateral approach.

Speaking for the United States on November 22, Jonathan B. Bingham characterized West New Guinea as a great challenge and an unusual opportunity. Provided the Assembly acted with judicious realism, he said, the territory might well serve as a model for responsible decolonization and cease being a focus of international disputation. The United States regarded as imaginative and constructive the initiative which the Netherlands had taken in proposing to relinquish control of West New Guinea to a U.N. administration for an interim period. The U.S. spokesman noted that the basic condition set by the Netherlands was that the inhabitants of the territory be afforded the right to exercise freedom of choice with regard to the ultimate disposition of the area. The U.S. position on the principle of self-determination was well known, he added, and it perceived no valid reason why an expression of the will of the people should be denied to the inhabitants of West New Guinea. While

the U.S. delegation welcomed the general nature of the Netherlands proposal, the Netherlands draft resolution represented completely the point of view of its sponsor and did not sufficiently recognize the intense Indonesian interests in the territory. He said that there was no purpose to be gained by attempting to ignore, as did the Netherlands draft, the claim of Indonesia to sovereignty over the territory.

The U.S. Representative expressed the view that the Assembly should not be asked to accept either the Indonesian or the Netherlands claim to sovereignty. In the light of the dispute the proper course seemed to be to assure the people of the area an opportunity at the proper time to express their own choice as to their political future under the aegis of the United Nations. In order to assure this result, the United States believed that any resolution adopted should make clear that the administration of the area would be turned over by the Dutch to the United Nations by a certain time. The conditions for the transfer would be laid down by the 17th General Assembly after receiving the recommendations of a small commission comprised of disinterested member states. Such a United Nations administration should provide to Indonesia every reasonable opportunity to pursue its objective of achieving the integration of West New Guinea with Indonesia. The United States assumed that under such an administration Indonesia would have access to the area.

The U.S. spokesman said that the Indian proposal did not offer a definitive solution to the problem. Similar proposals for simple bilateral negotiations had been presented before and rejected. Any resolution on the matter should take into account the new development represented by the expressed willingness of the Netherlands to relinquish its control over the territory to the United Nations. Moreover, in the U.S. view, adoption of a simple appeal to the parties to negotiate would amount to rejecting or at least ignoring the idea that the people of the area should be given the right of self-determination. The U.S. Representative noted that the Representative of India had in effect stated that he could not accept the idea of a U.N. commission since this would be tacit acceptance that the sovereignty of the area was open to dispute. But this was precisely the case. Indonesia claimed sovereignty, and its claim was supported by a number of delegations, including India; but the Netherlands also claimed sovereignty and its claim was likewise supported by a number of delegations. Thus this would seem to be a case in which the principle of self-determination was entirely appropriate. The U.S. Government had every reason to believe and hope that the Indonesian Government could and would accept the idea of self-determination for West New Guinea provided that the administration of the process was impartial and that Indonesia would have every appropriate access to the area.

The U.S. Representative stated that it would be clearly in Indonesia's interests to accept the prospective Dutch withdrawal from West New Guinea and then to pursue Indonesian objectives through peaceful means.

On November 24 a third draft resolution was tabled by 13 African members—Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Togo, and Upper Volta. In its preambular portion it proposed, *inter alia*, that the Assembly express the conviction that any solution "affecting the final destiny of a non-self-governing territory must be based on the principle of self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations." The operative portion of the 13-power draft would have: (1) urged Indonesia and the Netherlands to resume negotiations with a view to reaching an agreement on the future of West New Guinea, without prejudice to respect for the will and self-determination of the peoples; (2) requested the Secretary-General to use his good offices in the negotiations; (3) decided to establish a commission of five members appointed by the Assembly on the proposal of the President of the General Assembly; (4) requested the Secretary-General to inform the commission of the results of the negotiations by March 1, 1962; (5) instructed the commission if the parties had not reached a negotiated agreement by that date, (a) to investigate the conditions in the territory (b) to examine the possibility for establishing an interim international system for the international management and supervision of the territory, and (c) to report to the General Assembly at its 17th session; and (6) declared that nothing in paragraph 5(b) should prejudice the right of the population to decide, in the last resort, the status of the territory.

On November 27 views on the three draft resolutions before the Assembly were expressed, and the votes were taken. The Netherlands Representative recommended his delegation's draft for adoption. He said that the draft presented by the delegation of India was totally unacceptable to the Netherlands and made an urgent appeal to all members to vote against it. He characterized the Indian draft as a rehash of draft resolutions presented by Indonesia in 1954, 1956, and 1957, which had not been adopted. The obvious failing of the Indian proposal was that in dealing with the future of West New Guinea it did not even mention the one party and the only one entitled to decide on that future, namely, the Papuan people. The Indian draft asked Indonesia and the Netherlands to settle the future of the Papuan people between themselves "as if that people and that territory were a lifeless piece of property fit to be disposed of at will by others." The Netherlands Representative said that his Govern-

ment would not be a party to such a deal. He described the 13-power draft resolution as an ingenious attempt to combine the principles of the Netherlands draft with the Indonesian idea of negotiations as embodied in the Indian draft, but on a basis which was free from the shortcomings of the latter. To show its appreciation for the serious efforts made by the sponsors the Netherlands delegation was prepared to accept the 13-power draft.

The Representative of Niger affirmed that the sole purpose of the 13-power draft was to assist the Netherlands and Indonesia in finding a solution inasmuch as neither of the other two draft resolutions had been accepted by both parties. He asked the Assembly to give priority to the 13-power draft resolution.

In support of the Indian draft resolution the Indian Representative said that the Netherlands had proposed a course of action to be undertaken without the agreement of Indonesia, whose claims were ignored. This was not the right way to settle this long-standing dispute. The United Nations should not take over the responsibility for the administration of West Irian, even for an interim period, without the agreement of Indonesia. The Indian spokesman voiced support for the principle of self-determination, but stated that his Government could not agree to the application of this principle in respect of territory and peoples of sovereign and independent states or as a means of settling disputes without the agreement of the states concerned in the dispute. He described as unrealistic the March 31, 1962, time limit for negotiations proposed in the 13-power draft. He asked how a dispute which had remained unresolved for 10 years could be settled in 3 months.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Subandrio stressed his Government's rejection of the Netherlands draft resolution, saying that it was clearly aimed at the imposition upon Indonesia of the recognition of the complete self-determination of West Irian to become an independent state, as if the territory and its people had nothing to do with the Indonesian struggle for independence in which more than one-half million Indonesians had lost their lives. His Government would oppose "any attempts by the colonial powers to introduce ethnic or regional self-determination as interpreted by the Netherlands to confuse the national struggle for independence." The right of self-determination is not something to be applied to social, cultural, or ethnic groups within a colony; it is a right to be exercised by the entire territory and population. Subandrio rejected the dispatch of a commission to the territory on the grounds that it would imply the legalization of colonial reoccupation. He maintained that although previously negotiation was of no avail, now public opinion in the Netherlands was such that the Netherlands could afford to

relinquish its sovereignty and administration over West Irian. Therefore, Indonesia would sincerely adhere to the Indian resolution if adopted. As Indonesia could not recognize in advance of negotiations the principle of full-self-determination for the West Irian people, it could not accept the 13-power draft. Approval of that proposal would discourage the Netherlands from reaching an agreement by negotiations, the Foreign Minister asserted.

The U.S. Representative in expressing the U.S. view on the three draft resolutions reiterated that the Netherlands draft did not sufficiently take account of the position of Indonesia, and that the Indian draft would serve no useful purpose. Additionally, the latter was faulty in that it omitted reference to the principles of self-determination. The United States believed that the 13-power draft contained the best of both of the other proposals. The 13 African delegations were to be highly commended for their initiative, and the United States would vote in favor of their draft and also for the motion for priority.

The request for priority was sustained by a vote of 43 to 37, with 13 abstentions. At the request of Ghana a separate vote was taken on the preambular paragraph which would have expressed the Assembly's conviction that "any solution which affects the final destiny of a Non-Self-Governing Territory must be based on the principle of self-determination of peoples in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations." This paragraph failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority, the vote having been 53 (U.S.) to 36, with 14 abstentions. On the resolution as a whole, without the rejected paragraph, the vote was 53 (U.S.) to 41, with 9 abstentions. Thus the draft resolution failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority.

The U.S. Representative then appealed to the sponsors of the other two draft resolutions not to press them. He said it would appear that to proceed to a vote on the two proposals would be fruitless since the draft that was put forward as a middle ground had failed to secure the required majority. To proceed to a vote would only exacerbate feelings.

The Netherlands Representative stated that his delegation had been heartened by the fact that more than half of the members of the Assembly had voted in favor of the 13-power draft, thus upholding the right of self-determination of the Papuan people. This indicated that the Netherlands had taken the right direction in trying to internationalize the administration of West New Guinea. The Netherlands draft resolution would not be pressed to a vote.

The Representative of India stated that his delegation would not be able to comply with the suggestions not to put its draft to a vote. The Representative of Liberia maintained that no useful purpose

would be served by putting the Indian draft, which his delegation had cosponsored, to a vote. If India insisted on a vote, Liberia would request that its name as a cosponsor be withdrawn. The Indian draft resolution was not adopted, having failed to obtain the required two-thirds majority. The vote was 41 to 40 (U.S.), with 21 abstentions.

After the vote the Indonesian Foreign Minister said that the Indonesians have always stated that they want to have negotiations with the Netherlands; if they do not succeed the first time, then a try must be made a second or a third time. He noted that the Representative of the Netherlands had said that because the draft sponsored by 13 African countries had attained a simple majority, the Netherlands would proceed in confidence with its plan. Dr. Subandrio stated that, as the Assembly had rejected the 13-power draft, Indonesia would also "proceed in confidence with its plan to liberate West Irian from colonialism."

GENERAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS

The United Nations Secretary-General

Under the U.N. Charter the Secretary-General is appointed by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. Such a recommendation requires the affirmative vote of seven Council members, including the five permanent members. It is thus subject to the veto.

The Secretary-General is not only "the chief administrative officer of the Organization." He has the further responsibility of carrying out "such other functions" as are entrusted to him by the General Assembly and the Councils and of reporting annually to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization. He is also empowered by the Charter to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter that he thinks may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

These powers and responsibilities have made possible a very significant expansion of the role of the Secretary-General in the work of the United Nations since its beginning. Outstanding examples of this have been his operations under broad mandates given him by the General Assembly at the time of the Suez crisis in 1956 and by both the Security Council and the Assembly in the Congo situation that developed in July 1960. It has been apparent since the fall of 1960 that the Soviet Union sees in this development a major obstacle to the attainment of its continuing objective of preventing any action by the United Nations contrary to its desires, and that a serious problem

could therefore be anticipated in connection with the expiration of the late Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold's term of office on April 10, 1963.

The United Nations had already gone through one such crisis. After the first Secretary-General, Trygvie Lie, gave his strong support to the U.N. action to repel aggression in Korea, which was opposed by the U.S.S.R., the latter refused to agree to his reappointment. In this situation it was impossible for the Security Council to reach any recommendation and the General Assembly, which sets the term of office for the Secretary-General, simply extended Mr. Lie's term for another 3 years. Thereafter, the Soviet Union refused to recognize him as Secretary-General or to have any dealings with him. This situation, which did not prevent Mr. Lie from carrying out his responsibilities under the Charter, lasted until he resigned and general agreement was reached on the appointment of Mr. Hammarskjold early in 1953.

In 1960, at the 15th General Assembly, Premier Khrushchev denounced Mr. Hammarskjold and demanded that the Secretary-General be replaced by a three-man executive representing the Communist, the "neutralist," and the "Western military bloc" states, respectively. He asserted that "any other Secretary-General will also fail objectively to represent the interests of the three different groups of states." The Soviet demand, which extended beyond the Office of the Secretary-General to include the Secretariat as well, was made after Soviet ambitions in the Congo had been frustrated by the U.N. operation there under the direction of the Secretary-General. It was in effect a demand that the United Nations abandon the concept embodied in the U.N. Charter of an international secretariat directed by a truly independent chief executive for the concept of a secretariat and executive organized along politico-ideological lines unrecognized in the Charter. Each of the three men comprising the executive would, under the Soviet proposal, have a veto over any decision and the Soviet Union would thus be able to block any action by the Office of the Secretary-General in which it did not concur.

Subsequently, on February 14, 1961, the Soviet Union, in an official statement on the situation in the Congo, denounced the Secretary-General anew and declared that "the Soviet Government will not maintain any relations with Hammarskjold and will not recognize him as an official of the United Nations." Thereafter, the U.S.S.R. refused to have any official communication with the Secretary-General. Again, as in the earlier case of Mr. Lie, this did not prevent Mr. Hammarskjold from continuing fully to carry out his responsibilities as Secretary-General.

Secretary-General Hammarskjold's Death

It was against this background that it was announced on September 18, 1961, that Dag Hammarskjold of Sweden, Secretary-General of the United Nations since April 10, 1953, had been killed early that morning in an airplane crash near Ndola, Rhodesia. The Secretary-General was on his way from Léopoldville to Ndola for cease-fire talks with Provincial President Tshombe of Katanga when the crash occurred.

Opening the 16th session of the General Assembly the next day, Frederick H. Boland of Ireland, President of the 15th session, said:

> The sixteenth session of the General Assembly meets today in the shadow of an immense tragedy, in the midst of deep and heartfelt mourning which extends far beyond the walls of this chamber to millions of men and women throughout the world.

He then proposed that the Assembly adjourn until the following day after delegations had stood and observed a minute of silence "as a tribute to the memory of the late Secretary-General and of the devoted officers of the United Nations who died with him." The Security Council also held an informal meeting on September 19, after which its President for the month, Nathan Barnes of Liberia, issued a statement on behalf of the Council. Of Mr. Hammarskjold it said:

> His extraordinary diplomatic skill has helped to carry the United Nations through many crises and has developed the Organization into an increasingly important instrument for building a peaceful world community. In fact, Dag Hammarskjold has epitomized the ideal of the United Nations in the minds of millions of people throughout the world.

The Soviet Representative, however, insisted on having added to this communique a reiteration of the Soviet attitude toward Mr. Hammarskjold. Its final paragraph stated that while joining in the expression of condolences, the Soviet Union did not recognize Mr. Hammarskjold "as an official of the United Nations and does not share the appraisal of his political activities which is contained in the communique."

The United States was prompt to express its shock at the death of Mr. Hammarskjold. The Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, declared on September 18,

> His death in line of duty calls for fresh dedication to the principles of the Charter and to the United Nations at a time when its success is of critical importance to the entire world.

The same day the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, described the Secretary-General as "a soldier of peace—one of the greatest of our age" and stated:

> Through his extraordinary skill and firm moral purpose, the office of the Secretary General grew to a diplomatic and an executive position of unique importance.

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He was imbued with the spirit of law; and the law to which he held himself responsible was the law of the Charter and of the resolutions adopted pursuant to it.

Dag Hammarskjold has left his imprint forever on the cause of peace and decency among the nations. . . .

Investigation of Plane Crash

In accordance with the principles set forth in the International Civil Aviation Organization Convention, the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland undertook to investigate the crash of the airplane that Secretary-General Hammarskjold and his party were using. As of December 6, 1961, the Federation had asked the United Kingdom to submit to the United Nations two reports of this investigation.

The first report stated that the investigation committee established by the Federation consists of nationals from the Federation and of representatives from Sweden, the United Kingdom, the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), and the International Airlines Pilots' Association. In 1962, the Federation intends to hold a public inquiry into the crash to which it will invite representatives from Sweden, the United Kingdom, ICAO, and the U.N. General Assembly. In the second report to the United Nations the Federation reported that "extensive investigation has so far failed to determine any positive causes of the accident."

On October 26, 1961, the General Assembly adopted unanimously a resolution establishing a committee of five eminent persons to investigate the crash and report its findings to the General Assembly. On December 8, 1961, the Assembly appointed, on its President's suggestion, the following: Justice S. B. Jones of Sierra Leone, Dr. Raúl Quijano of Argentina, Justice Alfred Emil Sandstrom of Sweden, Honorable Rishikesh Shaha of Nepal, and Mr. Nikola Srzentic of Yugoslavia.

Appointment of Successor

In announcing the Secretary-General's death, the Under Secretaries of the United Nations stated that "for the time being" they would "carry on their duties as usual" and that the necessary coordination would "take place in accordance with past practice." There are no provisions in either the U.N. Charter or the Staff Regulations of the U.N. Secretariat for the carrying on of the functions of the Secretary-General in the event of his death, incapacity, or absence from the U.N. Headquarters, nor is there any order of precedence among the Under Secretaries. It had been Mr. Hammarskjold's custom to maintain close contact with the Secretariat in New York when he was abroad, and he had not designated any one to "act" in his absence be-

fore he left for the Congo. The prompt appointment of his successor was therefore highly desirable. At the same time, it was clear that the Soviet attitude toward the Office of Secretary-General would make agreement on a successor extremely difficult.

United States Position

In this situation, the United States immediately began consultations in New York with other U.N. delegations in an effort to arrive at an acceptable interim solution of the problem. The Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk, in a public statement on September 22, urged that an "outstanding world leader" be immediately named "to perform the functions of the office of the Secretary General for a temporary period, during which efforts to elect a permanent Secretary General should proceed in accordance with Article 97 of the Charter."

Mr. Rusk emphasized that the United Nations was currently engaged in "urgent peace-keeping action in the Congo, in the Middle East, and elsewhere throughout the world" and that it was imperative that the Secretariat "continue to be directed with vigor, confidence and integrity." It was, he said, "unfortunately clear, however, that an immediate agreement cannot be expected on the naming of a permanent Secretary General." The Secretary of State then declared:

> The authority of the office of the Secretary General must not be compromised. A "troika" or panel in any form and at any level of the Secretariat would paralyze the executive of the United Nations and weaken it irreparably. Whoever is appointed should perform the full functions of the office.
>
> The General Assembly has full authority to make such a provisional appointment. By the terms of the Charter the Assembly has the power to regulate appointments in the Secretariat. That power necessarily includes provisional arrangements for carrying on the functions of the Secretariat's chief officer in emergencies. It has used that power before on at least two important occasions.

(The two precedents referred to by Mr. Rusk were (1) the Assembly's action on January 11, 1946, at its first session, in authorizing Sir Gladwyn Jebb, Executive Secretary of the United Nations Preparatory Commission, to carry out the duties of the Secretary-General pending the appointment of the Secretary-General; and (2) the Assembly's action on November 1, 1950, continuing Mr. Lie in office for 3 years, after the Security Council had deadlocked in attempting to recommend his successor. In its resolution of November 1, 1950, the Assembly had, moveover, taken special note of "the necessity to ensure the uninterrupted exercise of the functions vested by the Charter in the office of the Secretary-General.")

Speaking to the General Assembly on September 25, President Kennedy described the problem as "not the death of one man" but "the life of this Organization." He called for "the selection of an outstanding civil servant to carry forward the responsibilities of the

Secretary General," pointing out that while Mr. Hammarskjold had "nurtured and sharpened the United Nations' obligation to act," he had not invented it. This obligation was and remains in the Charter.

The President categorically rejected the "triumverate" concept, including "any rotating authority," as leading to anarchy, paralysis, and confusion. "Even the three horses of the troika," he observed, "did not have three drivers, all going in different directions. They had only one and so must the United Nations executive."

Soviet Position

The Soviet delegation in the first instance let it be known that it would agree on no single individual as Secretary-General. Speaking to the General Assembly on September 26, the Soviet Foreign Minister, Andre Gromyko, reiterated Premier Khrushchev's troika proposal of the previous year and argued that its adoption, far from paralyzing the work of the Organization, would provide "a more stable basis" for U.N. activities. Mr. Gromyko decried efforts "to depict the situation in the U.N. Secretariat at the present as almost a 'crisis,'" declaring that an "organization which found itself in a crucial position when, at some moment, the post of its Chief Administrative Officer fell vacant would be utterly worthless."

The Soviet Foreign Minister called for "the immediate solution of the question of the administration of the United Nations Secretariat on a basis corresponding to the actual situation in the world," i.e., a world divided into three principal groups—"the Socialist countries, the countries belonging to Western military blocs and the neutralist States." He declared that the Security Council "must be the first to speak out" on a solution which, he urged, should be reached by agreement. "Let it be a provisional solution for the beginning," he said, "but one which, instead of deepening the rift between the States, will provide a still firmer basis for their cooperation within the framework of the United Nations." Mr. Gromyko thus appeared to reject all except the "provisional" aspect of the solution proposed by the Secretary of State, without, however, specifically indicating exactly what the U.S.S.R. would consider acceptable as a provisional solution.

Subsequent Negotiations

The troika proposal in its pure form received no support outside the Soviet bloc. There was, however, a disposition among a few neutrals to try to meet Soviet demands through an interim arrangement of one sort or another that could only be described in fact, if not in name, as a "troika." One such proposal was to rotate the authority for operating the Secretariat among three Under Secretaries who were, respectively, nationals of the United States, the U.S.S.R., and India.

Another similar proposal, which apparently had the blessing of the U.S.S.R., was to designate four Under Secretaries (two from "neutral" states, one from the United States and one from the U.S.S.R.), who would function as a collegium. One of them would be designated chairman but he would not act except in agreement with the other three on important political, as distinct from purely administrative, questions.

A variant of this latter proposal was put forward by the U.S.S.R. on October 2 as a "conciliatory" gesture. Under the Soviet plan there would be an acting Secretary-General who with three deputies would conduct the work of the Secretariat in a spirit of concert. In a press release of October 2 making public this proposal, the Soviet delegation stated that it did not have in mind any veto by the deputies but, rather, that the "provisional chief of the United Nations administrative body" must "maintain daily cooperation with his deputies and the deputies with him, and must seek to achieve mutual agreement with them on the major questions of the work of the Secretariat."

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, promptly issued a statement declaring that this Soviet proposal represented no "real compromise" and that "its adoption would seriously undermine the integrity of the Secretariat." Specifically, he pointed out (1) that it did not give the interim Secretary-General a mandate to carry out the full functions of the office; (2) that it maintained the idea of the troika; and (3) that contrary to the provisions of the U.N. Charter, it sought to introduce political representation into the upper levels of the Secretariat. The U.S. Representative then again urged that the United Nations "promptly designate an outstanding figure to carry on the functions of the Secretary General on an interim basis. Meeting this urgent need," he said, "must not be obstructed or delayed by efforts to change the structure of the United Nations itself."

While there was widespread opposition among the U.N. membership generally to the troika concept in any form, there was at the same time substantial sentiment for proceeding on the basis of agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union. This made it difficult to proceed promptly in the Assembly with an interim appointment, as originally proposed by the Secretary of State, and necessitated intensive negotiations. These negotiations, which did not reach their successful conclusion until November 3, some 7 weeks after the death of Dag Hammarskjold, were conducted both between the United States and the U.S.S.R. directly and by a geographically representative "middle" group in consultation with the major powers.

It was not until November 1 that the U.S. Representative was able to announce that the U.S. objective of preserving "the integrity of the Charter and the efficiency of the office of the Secretary General" had

been achieved and that there was "very little standing in the way" of an appointment to fill the "vital vacancy" created by Dag Hammarskjold's death. The U.S. Representative then said:

There will be no troika and no veto in the Secretariat. The new incumbent, who will fulfill the functions of the Secretary General until April 1963, will have the full powers and responsibilities of the office. He will appoint his own staff, and consult them in a manner consistent with the Charter. Moreover, there is general agreement on the individual to fill the office. Ambassador U Thant of Burma is a man of the highest character and ability, and is already experienced in United Nations affairs. This, too, bodes well for the future. Having thus preserved the integrity of the office and in spite of our preference that he should have not only the full powers but also the full title of Secretary General we have indicated that we would acquiesce, in a spirit of conciliation, if the U.S.S.R. continues to hold the view that he should serve in an "acting" capacity.

Disagreement has continued to prevail on whether the new Secretary General should appoint some of the Under Secretaries, and, if so, how many and from what areas, as principal advisers on important questions. It is no secret that the United States and many other countries doubt the wisdom of appointing any principal advisers. But the most important principle is that whatever is done, it should be done strictly in accordance with the Charter. Article 101 provides that the paramount consideration in any appointments should be to secure the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity, and that due regard should be paid to the importance of as wide a geographical basis as possible. We believe that these criteria could be satisfied by the appointment of five principal advisers from the Under Secretaries, chosen along with the Secretary General from the six principal regions of the world. In a spirit of accommodation we have indicated we would not object to such an arrangement by the Secretary General. But other delegations, especially the U.S.S.R., have other views on this matter.

It has proved impossible to reach a common understanding on this particular point, and we believe the new Secretary General should himself decide this issue. The United States has every confidence in Ambassador U Thant's judgment and in his intention to assure the integrity of Articles 100 and 101 of the Charter. I have just informed him that, so far as we are concerned, we wish that, when he becomes Secretary General, he would settle this question as he sees fit and inform the General Assembly after his election. Whether he chooses to have several advisers or none is for him to determine, in our opinion.

We trust that other members, and especially the Soviet Union, have the same confidence in Ambassador U Thant. If they do, this whole problem can be settled promptly since other matters are agreed.

Security Council Recommendation

Two days later, November 3, the Security Council met in private to consider, according to its subsequent communique, "the problem of filling the office of the Secretary-General for the term fixed by the General Assembly, expiring 10 April 1963. The Council unanimously decided to recommend to the General Assembly that Ambassador U Thant be appointed as acting Secretary-General of the United

Nations for the unexpired portion of the term previously fixed by the General Assembly, expiring 10 April 1963."

The United States would have preferred not to have any Security Council recommendation since this was to be an interim appointment only and in its view there was no requirement for such action under the Charter. The Assembly's power in this regard had in fact already been recognized on two separate occasions, as noted above. The United States agreed to go through the Council in order to accommodate those who were convinced of the value of proceeding in agreement with the U.S.S.R. on this matter and to avoid further delay when all were agreed on whom should be recommended as Mr. Hammarskjold's successor. The United States does not consider the Council's action in this most recent case as constituting any precedent derogating from the Assembly's authority in this field.

The Security Council action also raised a problem in connection with the term of Ambassador U Thant's appointment, since setting the term of office of the Secretary-General is a function of the General Assembly alone. This fact was therefore expressly recognized in the wording of the Council's resolution and its communique, which made clear that the Security Council's recommendation applied to a term already established by the General Assembly.

Appointment of U Thant as Acting Secretary-General

In the afternoon of November 3, the General Assembly meeting in plenary session adopted unanimously a draft resolution submitted jointly by the delegations of Ceylon, Liberia, and the United Arab Republic appointing U Thant "acting Secretary-General of the United Nations for a term of office ending on April 10, 1963."

Prior to his appointment, the new Secretary-General had served as Burma's Representative to the United Nations and Chairman of the Burmese delegation to the General Assembly since 1957. From 1954–1957 he had been a member of Prime Minister U Nu's staff, accompanying the Prime Minister on numerous visits and serving as his adviser at various conferences, including the Afro-Asian Conference held at Bandung in 1955 and the Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned Nations held early in September 1961. U Thant has also served as Permanent Secretary in the Burmese Ministry of Information.

Immediately following his installation, U Thant addressed the Assembly. Discussing the heavy responsibilities he was undertaking, he said that "the international climate can hardly be described as sunny" and made specific mention of the serious financial problem confronting the United Nations and the need for an "urgent solution" of the difficulties being encountered in the U.N. Congo operation. He

then expressed his confidence in receiving the "continued assistance and team spirit" of the U.N. Secretariat, "especially in the difficult days ahead that we shall face together." In this context, he said:

> In particular it is my intention to invite a limited number of persons who are at present Under Secretaries, or to be appointed as Under Secretaries, to act as my principal advisers on important questions pertaining to the performance of functions entrusted to the Secretary-General by the United Nations Charter. In extending this invitation I am fully conscious of the paramount consideration of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity, and with due regard to the importance of as wide a geographical basis as possible, as laid down in Article 101 of the Charter. I intend to include among these advisers Mr. Ralph J. Bunche and Mr. Georgy Petrovich Arkadev. It is also my intention to work together with these colleagues in close collaboration and consultation in a spirit of mutual understanding. I am sure that they will seek to work with me in the same manner. Of course, this whole arrangement is without prejudice to such future organizational changes as experience may reveal to be necessary.

Welcoming the appointment of U Thant, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, said that "we have much to be thankful for today. Not only because of the individual who has just been appointed, but equally because of the propitious circumstances in which the General Assembly has appointed him." Specifically, the U.S. Representative pointed out:

> There will be no veto in the Secretariat and no weakening of the office of the Secretary General. The principles contained in Articles 100 and 101 of the Charter have been fully preserved. He will have the full powers and responsibilities of that office. He will appoint his own staff and consult them entirely as he alone decides, in a manner consistent with the Charter.

The U.S. Representative then read a telegram from President Kennedy terming U Thant's election "a splendid achievement in which the whole world can rejoice," congratulating the U.N. membership on their decision, and declaring that:

> In preserving the integrity of the office of the United Nations Secretary General, they have reaffirmed their dedication to the United Nations Charter.

Membership

Four new members were admitted to the United Nations in 1961 and a fifth resumed its original membership, bringing the total U.N. membership by the end of the year to 104. One application—that of Kuwait—was vetoed. Three of the new members were African states that had only recently attained independence—Mauritania, Sierra Leone, and Tanganyika. The other—Outer Mongolia—first applied for United Nations membership in 1946. Syria, a Charter member of the United Nations, resumed separate membership shortly after its

withdrawal from the United Arab Republic and its resumption of its previous sovereign status.

Sierra Leone

The former British colony of Sierra Leone gained its independence on April 27, 1961, pursuant to an agreement reached between the local authorities and the administering power. That same day Sierra Leone submitted its application for admission to the United Nations. This application was considered by the Security Council on September 26, shortly after the opening of the 16th General Assembly. Following a decision to give Sierra Leone's application priority of consideration over those of Mauritania and Outer Mongolia, since it was noncontroversial, the Council unanimously adopted a draft resolution, cosponsored by Ceylon, Liberia, and the United Kingdom, recommending the admission of Sierra Leone. The next day, September 27, the Assembly admitted Sierra Leone by acclamation.

Speaking in the Security Council the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, welcomed Sierra Leone's application for U.N. membership. He recalled its "long and distinguished history filled with episodes of valor and of hardship," and its steady progress toward independence, together with its accompanying rise in economic importance. "We voted with pleasure," he said, for the resolution recommending the admission of Sierra Leone "and we look forward with equal pleasure to working with the representatives of Sierra Leone during the coming months and years."

Mauritania

A Soviet veto, on December 3, 1960, prevented favorable Security Council action on the admission of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania to the United Nations immediately after this former French territory attained independence on November 28, 1960. This veto followed the Council's refusal to consider at the same meeting, and give priority to, the application of Outer Mongolia. The resumed session of the 15th General Assembly in the spring of 1961, therefore, had before it a draft resolution, cosponsored by the 11 African states constituting the Brazzaville group (Cameroun, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Niger, Senegal, Upper Volta), under which the Assembly would find that Mauritania was qualified for U.N. membership and should therefore be admitted, and would request the Security Council to take note of this finding.

This resolution was opposed by Morocco which claimed that Mauritania was an integral part of Morocco. Most Arab states supported the Moroccan position, while most of the non-Arab African states

strongly favored the admission of Mauritania. The Soviet Union, following the course it had inaugurated in the Security Council, introduced draft amendments to the 11-power text to include, and give priority to, Outer Mongolia. In the paragraph-by-paragraph voting that preceded the final vote on April 19, 1961, the Soviet amendment finding that Outer Mongolia was qualified for U.N. membership and should therefore be admitted was accepted. The resolution as amended was then adopted by a vote of 47 to 13 (9 Arab states, Cuba, Guinea, Indonesia, and Venezuela), with 34 (Soviet bloc (9) and, Afghanistan, Australia, Belgium, Burma, Ceylon, Chile, China, Cyprus, El Salvador, Ghana, Guatemala, India, Iran, Ireland, Japan, Laos, Malaya, Mali, Paraguay, Portugal, Turkey, U.K., U.S., Uruguay, Yugoslavia) abstentions. The paragraph finding Mauritania qualified for membership was, however, adopted by a vote of 63 (U.S.) to 15 (9 Arab states, Soviet bloc (2) and Cuba, Guinea, Indonesia, Yugoslavia), with 17 (Soviet bloc (7) and Afghanistan, Ceylon, Cyprus, Ghana, India, Iran, Ireland, Mali, Uruguay, Venezuela) abstentions.

Shortly thereafter, on May 3, the Prime Minister of Mauritania sent a telegram to the U.N. Secretary-General expressing the hope that the Assembly's resolution finding Mauritania qualified for admission would be inscribed on the agenda of the first Security Council meeting that considered applications for membership. On May 6 the Soviet Representative addressed a letter to the President of the Security Council requesting, in effect, that the Outer Mongolian application also be considered at the first meeting of the Council at which the admission of new members was taken up. He thus made clear the Soviet intention of continuing to link action on the two applications.

No Security Council meeting to consider the admission of new members was held until September 26 and, in the intervening period, African support for the admission of Mauritania was strongly reaffirmed. On May 25 President Tubman of Liberia, as chairman of the 20-nation Conference of Heads of African and Malagasy States, which met in Monrovia May 8–12, 1961, wrote the President of the Security Council pursuant to resolutions passed by the Conference. He said:

> The Conference is convinced that the Republic of Mauritania possesses all the qualifications for membership, and looks with concern upon any attempt to prohibit this Republic from association into that Body by the exercise of a veto, or to link its admittance to other issues.

Privately, many African states, and particularly the Brazzaville group, expressed their concern that failure of the Security Council to act favorably on the Outer Mongolian application would result in another Soviet veto of Mauritania. These African states were espe-

cially concerned that the Republic of China would veto Outer Mongolia, as it had in 1955, and should this happen, there appeared to be every likelihood that they would act against the interests of the Republic of China in the Chinese representation issue. Such a development would have seriously jeopardized at the 16th General Assembly attainment of the U.S. objective of maintaining unimpaired the position of the Republic of China in the United Nations.

When the Security Council met on September 26, it had on its agenda three membership applications in the following order: Mauritania, Outer Mongolia, and Sierra Leone. The Ceylonese Representative immediately suggested that the Sierra Leone application be considered first. While the U.S.S.R. was prepared to accept this suggestion, as were other Council members, the Soviet Representative again urged priority of consideration for Outer Mongolia over Mauritania. After a long procedural debate, in which the U.S. Representative and others strenuously opposed priority for Outer Mongolia, the Soviet proposal was rejected 4 (Ceylon, Liberia, U.A.R., U.S.S.R.) to 3 (China, U.K., U.S.), with 4 (Chile, Ecuador, France, Turkey) abstentions.

The Council adjourned following its favorable action on the application of Sierra Leone. When it next met, on October 2, to consider the applications of Mauritania and Outer Mongolia, the U.S.S.R. again proposed priority for the latter. This move led to another adjournment of the Council, which did not meet again to consider these applications until October 25. At that time the President of the Council for October, the Turkish Representative, announced that he had considered it his duty as Council President "to conduct a series of private consultations during the past weeks on these applications" and that as a result of these consultations he was in a position to state confidently that "the outcome of our deliberations today shall give satisfaction both to Mauritania and to the Mongolian People's Republic." He then proposed that in order to facilitate proceedings the two applications be considered in the order in which the two countries had applied for membership, thus reversing the Council's decision of September 26 and giving priority to Outer Mongolia. This proposal, he said, had "absolutely no other significance except as a practical and objective suggestion." He also said that he considered "that it would be of great help to our proceedings if, while we are discussing the item on the Mongolian People's Republic, the members of the Council would briefly indicate their respective positions regarding the next item, which will be the application of Mauritania."

The Chinese Representative objected to the proposed change in the order of items but said that he would "not press the point" in view of the "circumstances" that the President had explained in his "opening statement."

Mauritania's application was, therefore, in the end acted upon only after the Council had acted favorably on the Outer Mongolian application. Following a discussion in which strong Moroccan opposition to the admission of Mauritania was again expressed, the draft resolution jointly submitted by France and Liberia recommending Mauritania's admission was adopted by a vote of 9 to 1 (U.A.R.), with 1 (U.S.S.R.) abstention. Speaking in support of this resolution, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, said that the "United States shared the disappointment of the Government of Mauritania and of other African states" that Mauritania had not been admitted to the United Nations shortly after it became independent, as had "so many other new African states." The United States, therefore, rejoiced, he continued, "at the prospect of achieving today the end we sought a year ago." The U.S. Representative further stated that the "United States is confident that the people of Mauritania, as they take their place among us, will remain dedicated to the principles expressed in the Charter and that their leaders will devote their energies untiringly to the cause of peace."

Two days later, on October 27, the General Assembly adopted a 14-power (France and 13 African states) draft resolution admitting Mauritania to the United Nations. The vote on this resolution was 68 to 13, with 20 abstentions. Nine Arab states, Cuba, Guinea, and Mali joined Morocco in opposing Mauritania's admission, while the Soviet bloc (including Outer Mongolia in its first vote in the General Assembly), Afghanistan, Cambodia, Congo (Léopoldville), Ghana, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Pakistan, and Yugoslavia abstained.

Outer Mongolia

Outer Mongolia's application for membership had been before the United Nations since 1946 but it had never received the requisite vote in the Security Council or been the subject of action by the General Assembly except once, in 1955, when a Chinese veto in the Security Council prevented its admission. On this occasion, Outer Mongolia was one of 18 applicants covered in a General Assembly resolution requesting the Security Council to consider "in the light of the general opinion in favor of the widest possible membership of the United Nations" all pending applications except those of the divided states (Korea and Viet-Nam). The United States abstained on this resolution in the Assembly and also in the subsequent Security Council vote on Outer Mongolia, the U.S. Representative having stated in the Assembly that the United States did not intend "to use the veto in the Security Council to thwart what may be the will of a qualified majority in the Security Council and the General Assembly."

Following the Chinese veto, 16 of the 18 applicants were admitted. The Soviet Union, however, tied the admission of Japan to the admission of Outer Mongolia, vetoing the Japanese application three times in 2 days, and Japan was not admitted until the following year after the issuance of a joint Soviet-Japanese declaration on October 19, 1956, stating *inter alia* that the U.S.S.R. would support the admission of Japan.

When the resumed 15th session of the General Assembly took up the membership question on April 19, 1961, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, reiterated the United States firm and continuing opposition to the linking of the admission of one state to that of another, in this case Mauritania and Outer Mongolia. He said:

> I would like first, however, to say that the United States continues to believe that the admission of one country must not be made conditional on the admission of another. In short we are opposed, both in principle and in practice, to "package deals." The International Court of Justice itself has held them to be incompatible with the letter and the spirit of the Charter. We believe package deals are an affront to the dignity and sovereignty of independent states. Last December the Soviet Union proposed this package deal. It was rejected by the Security Council and then revived here in the General Assembly in the form of the amendments. . . . This particular package deal should be equally offensive to those who *oppose* Mauritania's admission as to those who *favor* it. This is an attempt to do by indirection what cannot be done directly—to exploit the wide support for a genuinely qualified state by linking its admission to that of another applicant whose qualifications are not yet clear. None of us will gain by submitting to pressure tactics of this kind. We believe it is in the interest of all of us to oppose them. We believe the Soviet amendments should be rejected. We have no doubt that the application of Mauritania will be overwhelmingly endorsed.

He also said the United States would vote against the Soviet amendments to include, and give priority to, Outer Mongolia in the 11-power draft resolution on Mauritania and, if they were adopted, would abstain on the resolution as a whole.

There were three Soviet amendments. The first noted (1) that Outer Mongolia had been an applicant since 1946 and (2) that its admission was being impeded by certain members of the Security Council. The first part of this amendment was adopted but the second part was rejected. The second Soviet amendment finding that Outer Mongolia was qualified for membership and that consequently it should be admitted was adopted by a vote of 48 to 15, with 24 abstentions. The third Soviet amendment adding Outer Mongolia to the paragraph of the 11-power draft requesting the Security Council to take note of the Assembly's finding with respect to Mauritania failed to receive the necessary two-thirds vote and was therefore rejected. As noted above, the amended resolution was then adopted by a vote of 47 to 13, with 34 abstentions.

Outer Mongolia was admitted to membership in the United Nations by acclamation (since no vote was taken) on October 27. This Assembly action followed the Security Council's adoption, on October 25, of a resolution recommending such action. The vote in the Council was 9 to 0, with 1 abstention—the United States.

China did not participate in the vote in either the Council or the Assembly. Explaining this position to the Assembly, as he had in much greater detail to the Council, the Chinese Representative stated that his delegation remained "convinced that Outer Mongolia is utterly unqualified for membership in this Organization under the provisions of the Charter." However, he said, his delegation was "not unmindful of the Assembly's resolution on the admission of Outer Mongolia" at its 15th session and "in the circumstances with which the Security Council was confronted the Chinese delegation reluctantly came to the decision that its opposition to Outer Mongolia's entry should not be made a pretext, however meagre and unjustifiable, for the nonadmission of a new State [Mauritania] which my delegation particularly desires to see within the ranks of this Organization."

Speaking in the Security Council on October 25, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, again reiterated the U.S. opposition to the linking of the admission of any one applicant to the admission of another, an important principle, he said, that "must be affirmed and reaffirmed." He then referred to Ambassador Stevenson's statement to the Council on September 26 that "we will not obstruct the admission of Outer Mongolia" and said:

> . . . The reasons why we do so, despite the views we hold, are well known. The United States is aware that last April the General Assembly found Outer Mongolia qualified for membership. We are prepared to respect this view of the Assembly and will do nothing either here or in the Assembly to oppose it. The United States, therefore, will abstain on the draft resolution recommending Outer Mongolia's admission.

Tanganyika

Tanganyika, formerly a U.N. Trust Territory under British administration, became independent on December 9, 1961, and immediately applied for U.N. membership. On December 14, the Security Council adopted unanimously a draft resolution cosponsored by Ceylon, Liberia, the U.A.R., and the U.K., recommending Tanganyika's admission. That same day, the General Assembly admitted Tanganyika by acclamation.

Expressing U.S. support of the four-power draft resolution, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, said:

> . . . Tanganyika was the largest of the trust territories, both in area and population. It is the most recent of the trust territories to emerge as an

independent nation from the trusteeship process of the United Nations. The United States is one of the countries that has from the beginning taken an active interest in the United Nations trusteeship system. We may, therefore, be forgiven if we feel a special pride and satisfaction as this large and promising new nation enters our ranks. Closely associated as we are with the work of the Trusteeship Council, we are well aware of the part that the United Kingdom has played and happily continues to play in Tanganyika. . . .

. . . Prime Minister Julius Nyerere and representatives of the Tanganyika government . . . are, to use the words of my country's representative on the Trusteeship Council, symbols of African hopes, African dignity and African success, and they give us a glimpse of the tremendous contribution which the people of Africa can make to this upset world of ours. Tanganyika has had notable success in establishing a harmonious multi-racial society. The representative of the United Kingdom in the Trusteeship Council, Sir Hugh Foote, has called Tanganyika's achievement one of the most striking and successful ventures in racial harmony and freedom ever seen.

While Tanganyika has reason to be proud of its achievements, its people and its leaders still face, needless to say, formidable problems in developing the economy, the education and the social potential of their country. Prime Minister Nyerere and Tanganyika's other leaders are well aware of these challenges and have declared their intention to wage a silent revolution against poverty, disease and ignorance, in order to raise the standards of living of the people and the general circumstances of life in this new country. In this we wish them all success and are prepared to extend our help and our cooperation.

Syria

Following the union of Syria and Egypt (both original members of the United Nations) in February 1958, the Foreign Ministry of the new United Arab Republic on March 1 of that year addressed a letter to the U.N. Secretary-General declaring that "the Union henceforth is a single Member of the United Nations." This letter also requested him to communicate to all member states, to other principal organs of the United Nations, and to all subsidiary organs of the United Nations a note of February 24 from the Foreign Minister of the United Arab Republic announcing the formation of the new state.

The Secretary-General complied with this request in a note of March 7, stating that he had accepted the credentials of the new U.A.R. Representative to the United Nations and noting that "this is an action within the limits of his authority, undertaken without prejudice to and pending such actions as other Organs of the United Nations may take" on the basis of the two communications from the United Arab Republic. Subsequent action of other organs was limited to acceptance of credentials.

Following the Syrian decision late in September 1961 to resume its separate identity, the new Syrian Prime Minister informed the President of the General Assembly on September 30, that he had assumed office and gave assurances of his Government's "firm support for the principles of the United Nations." Subsequently,

in a communication of October 8 to the General Assembly President he said:

> It may be recalled that the Syrian Republic was an original member of the United Nations under Article three of the Charter and continued its membership in the form of joint association with Egypt under the name of United Arab Republic. In resuming her formal status as an independent state the government of the Syrian Arab Republic has the honour to request that the United Nations take note of the resumed membership in the United Nations of the Syrian Arab Republic. By separate communication I am submitting the credentials of the Delegation of Syria to the Sixteenth Session of the General Assembly. I also have the honour to request that the contents of this cable be communicated to the following:
>
> (1) All members of the United Nations;
> (2) Principal and subsidiary organs of the United Nations.

The President of the Assembly drew this communication to the attention of the members of the Assembly in plenary on the morning of October 13. He then stated that he had consulted many delegations and that his consultations had led him to believe that "in view of the special circumstances of this matter" there was no objection on the part of any delegation to Syria, an original member of the United Nations, being "represented in the General Assembly as it has specifically requested." He would therefore, he said, "if no objection is raised before the opening of this afternoon's plenary session . . . request the Secretariat to take the necessary measures so that the delegation of the Syrian Arab Republic may take its seat in the General Assembly as a Member of the United Nations." No objection was raised and the Syrian delegation was seated that afternoon.

Kuwait

The State Secretary of Kuwait, on June 30, 1961, addressed a communication to the Secretary-General submitting Kuwait's application for U.N. membership. This application was considered at two meetings of the Security Council on November 30 and a draft resolution recommending the admission of Kuwait, sponsored by the United Arab Republic, received ten affirmative votes. It was, however, vetoed by the U.S.S.R.

The independence of Kuwait was formally established by an exchange of letters between the Government of Kuwait and the Government of the United Kingdom on June 19, 1961. Before then Kuwait, while enjoying internal autonomy, had been a protectorate of the United Kingdom under an agreement of January 23, 1899. Kuwait lies at the top of the Persian Gulf, it borders on Iraq and Saudi Arabia, and while small in size and population, ranks fourth among the world's producers and second among the exporters of petroleum. Its oil revenues have enabled it greatly to improve the standard of

living of its inhabitants and to accelerate its development. It has been widely recognized as a sovereign and independent country, is a member of the Arab League, and is also a member of a number of the Specialized Agencies.

Iraq, however, maintains that Kuwait is an integral part of Iraq, and the threat of invasion from Iraq led the Ruler of Kuwait to request British military intervention under the agreement of June 19. This situation was considered by the Security Council in a series of meetings the first week in July but the Council took no action (see p. 116). Subsequently, British troops were withdrawn as certain Arab states contributed contingents of forces to assist in assuring the maintenance of peace and stability in the area.

The resolution introduced by the United Arab Republic recommending the admission of Kuwait to the United Nations was strongly supported by the U.K. Representative. The United States and other Council members also endorsed the Kuwait application. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton, said that his Government "warmly supports" Kuwait's "desire to remain fully independent." He noted that Kuwait had been "enlarging the scope of its international activities, as can be seen by its membership of the Arab League, as well as of UNESCO, ICAO, and other organizations of the United Nations family." Kuwait, he observed, is "a country with not only a colorful past but a promising future, for the Government of Kuwait has taken and is taking enlightened and energetic steps for the betterment and education of its people and for the development of its territory." It was, the U.S. Representative said, "with great satisfaction that we shall vote for the draft resolution sponsored by the representative of the United Arab Republic."

Iraq opposed the admission of Kuwait on the grounds that Kuwait "has never been a State in the internationally accepted sense," is an integral part of Iraq, and "is for all practical purposes a British colony" and therefore not eligible for membership. The Soviet Representative first opposed the adoption of the agenda, contending that "the situation in Kuwait does not enable us to consider Kuwait an independent State and therefore does not justify a discussion of the question of admitting Kuwait to the United Nations." He then maintained that Kuwait continued to be "a vassal, a colony of Great Britain." "Oil," he charged, "is the basis and reason for the desire of the United Kingdom to retain a predominant position in Kuwait and in this area, generally speaking," and he attacked the "predominance of British and American oil monopolies in the economic life of the territory." He also attacked the introduction of Arab troops into Kuwait, asserting that "troops from Arab States have taken sides in this controversy—cannot in any way contribute to the settlement of

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the problem of Kuwait on a fair and equitable basis." In the face of Iraq's serious objections, the Soviet Representative declared, the question of Kuwait's admission to the United Nations "can only be solved negatively." Its negative vote on the U.A.R. draft resolution was the Soviet Union's 98th veto.

Chinese Representation

As in past years, the Soviet bloc with the support of certain other countries, again attempted to bring about the expulsion of the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China from the United Nations and all its organs and their replacement by representatives of the Chinese Communist regime. The question of Chinese representation has been raised in various ways each year since 1950, not only in the major Councils of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies, but also in a great many subsidiary bodies, including subcommittees that are purely technical in purpose. The United States has vigorously and successfully opposed these efforts to gain entry for the Chinese Communists into the United Nations or any of its component bodies. The United States has always considered the Government of the Republic of China the only rightful government representing China and has always given full support to the position and to all the rights of that government in the United Nations or any other international organizations or conferences.

Two days before the Assembly convened, the Government of New Zealand (by letter dated September 17, 1961) requested inclusion of an additional item of an important and urgent character in the agenda entitled: "Question of representation of China in the United Nations." In addition, the U.S.S.R. (by letter dated September 18, 1961) proposed inclusion of the Chinese representation issue on the agenda of the 16th General Assembly under the heading: "Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations." In accordance with standing procedure both items were referred to the Assembly's General Committee, which took the matter up in its meeting on September 21, 1961.

In order to avoid time-consuming debate and to facilitate agreement, the United States in the past had favored disposing of the issue by procedural means, and a majority of countries had supported this procedure. This year, however, a considerable body of opinion appeared to have developed among the U.N. membership favoring an opportunity to discuss fully the substantive aspects of the issue of Chinese representation. Under the circumstances it did not seem appropriate for the United States to introduce once again the so-called "Moratorium formula," whereby the General Assembly would

decide for the duration of the session "not to consider any proposals to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China."

During the discussion in the Committee, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Charles W. Yost, explained that because of the frequently expressed desire to consider the question of the representation of China in the United Nations, his delegation supported the initiative of the New Zealand Government and would vote for the inclusion of the item in the agenda. In the end the Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly that both items be included. (The vote on the New Zealand item was 15 to 0, with 5 abstentions; the vote on the Soviet item was 7 to 3, with 10 abstentions.) On September 25 the General Assembly without voting accepted this recommendation of its General Committee and the two items were both inscribed on the General Assembly agenda.

Fairly early in the session, on October 27, the U.S.S.R. submitted a draft resolution, which if adopted would have expelled the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China from all organs of the United Nations and replaced them with Chinese Communist representatives. The Soviet resolution was couched in particularly offensive language and prejudged the issue by declaring that the "Chiang Kai-shek clique" were "unlawfully occupying the place of China in the United Nations" and that their replacement with Chinese Communists was necessary "to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations." On the day that the General Assembly began consideration of the question of Chinese representation, which occupied 12 plenary meetings between December 1 and December 15, the United States, in conjunction with Australia, Colombia, Italy, and Japan introduced a joint draft resolution whereby the Assembly would decide that any proposal to change the representation of China is an "important question" requiring a two-thirds majority vote for adoption in accordance with article 18 of the Charter. The intended effect of this draft resolution was to make a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly mandatory for the adoption of any proposal to change the representation of China and thereby block any attempts to settle a matter of such far-reaching importance in a perfunctory or capricious manner.

In stating the case against the Soviet draft resolution and for the five-power draft resolution in the General Assembly on December 1, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, cited recent examples of the "affinity for aggressive violence, and for subversive interference in other countries" that had characterized the Chinese Communist regime from the start. The U.S. Representative pointed

out that the behavior of the Chinese Communists was in complete accordance with the professed philosophy of Mao Tse-Tung that "everything can be made to grow out of the barrel of a gun." To admit to the United Nations a regime given "to such bitter words and ruthless actions," far from reforming it, would encourage it, in the U.S. spokesman's words, "to exert, all the more forcefully, by threats and maneuvers, a most disruptive and demoralizing influence on the organization at this critical moment in its history." Furthermore, to admit the Chinese Communists in circumstances in which they "continue to violate and defy the principles of the Charter," the U.S. Representative asserted, could seriously shake public confidence in the United Nations and would most certainly do so among the people of the United States. Most importantly, however, the U.S. Representative pointed out that by inviting the Chinese Communists in on their own terms, the United Nations would be setting "its seal of approval in advance upon what would be as massive a resort to arms as the world has witnessed since the end of World War II." As the U.S. Representative reminded the delegates, not only do the Chinese Communist leaders explicitly demand the expulsion of the representatives of the Republic of China before they themselves will "deign to accept a seat in the United Nations," but their insistence in this context that the United Nations "restore China's legitimate rights" clearly implies "that the United Nations should acquiesce in Communist China's design to conquer Taiwan and the 11,000,000 people who live there, and thereby to overthrow and abolish the independent government of the Republic of China."

The U.S. Representative pointed out that "the effrontery of these demands is shocking" and that in these circumstances "the United States earnestly believes that it is impossible to speak seriously today of 'bringing Communist China into the United Nations.'" For not only is it "absurd and unthinkable" to consider expelling a "Charter member" which exercises effective jurisdiction over an area and a population larger than that of several other member states of the United Nations, and whose representatives have been noted throughout for "their high standards of conduct, their unfailing dignity and courtesy, their contribution and their consistent devotion to the principles and the success of [this] organization"; but, as the U.S. Representative again emphasized in a second speech before the General Assembly on December 14, "the proposal to expel a member which supports the Charter to make room for a regime which defies the Charter and to arm that regime with a United Nations license to make war across the Formosa Strait is wrong from the viewpoint of this organization—is morally wrong—is legally wrong—is unrealistic in the light of the relevant realities of 1961. And, whatever else may be

said, it is indubitably an important question—one of the most important questions ever likely to come before us." In conclusion the U.S. Representative called on the delegates emphatically to reject the Soviet proposal and expressed confidence that the Assembly, by supporting the five-power resolution, would "confirm the plain fact that any proposal to alter the representation of China in the United Nations would be a vitally important question under the Charter."

The U.S. Representative on December 14 also spoke against an amendment to the Soviet resolution that had been submitted 2 days earlier by the delegations of Cambodia, Ceylon, and Indonesia. While leaving intact the preamble of the Soviet resolution, which spoke of the necessity "to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China" and affirmed the exclusive competence of the Chinese Communist regime to occupy China's place in the United Nations and all its organs, the three-power amendment eliminated some of the most directly offensive language from the Soviet resolution by deleting its two operative paragraphs. Instead, this amendment substituted a single operative paragraph asking the Assembly to decide "in accordance with the above declaration that the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China be seated in the United Nations and all its organs." As the U.S. Representative pointed out, the three-power amendment, "while set forth with greater sophistication than the Soviet proposal," clearly would have the same effect and therefore was equally unacceptable to the United States.

On December 15, 1961, after having heard approximately 60 speakers expound their countries' position on the issue, the General Assembly proceeded to vote on (a) the five-power draft resolution declaring any change in Chinese representation to constitute an "important question"; (b) the amendment to the Soviet draft resolution submitted by Cambodia, Ceylon, and Indonesia; and (c) the Soviet draft resolution itself. As one of its five cosponsors, Australia requested that the "important question" resolution be accorded priority in the voting. This was immediately contested by the Soviet Representative, Ambassador Zorin, who charged that the five-power resolution constituted "a procedural stratagem" designed to avoid solving the substantive issue. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson, spoke in support of the Australian proposal, explaining that for obvious reasons it is "usual and customary" to vote on procedural resolutions before voting on substantive resolutions. The Assembly then voted to accord priority to the "important question" resolution by a vote of 61 to 21, with 20 abstentions. Subsequently, it adopted this resolution itself by a vote of 61 to 34 (Soviet bloc (10), and Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Cuba, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Mali,

Morocco, Nepal, Norway, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tunisia, U.A.R., Yemen, Yugoslavia), with 7 (Austria, Cyprus, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Tanganyika) abstentions.

In voting on the three-power amendment to the Soviet draft resolution, two separate votes were taken at the request of the Nigerian Representative: the introductory phrase "in accordance with the above declaration," which by referring to the preamble of the Soviet draft resolution seemed to endorse the exclusive claim of the Chinese Communists to represent China in the United Nations, was defeated by a rollcall vote of 23 to 41, with 39 abstentions. The second, substantive part of the amendment, which on the surface merely called for the Chinese Communists "to be seated in the United Nations and all its organs" without specifically referring to the expulsion of the Government of the Republic of China, was likewise defeated by a rollcall vote of 30 in favor (Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Mali, Morocco, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia, U.A.R., U.K., Yemen), 45 against (Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Congo (Léopoldville), Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Malaya, France, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Mauritania, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, South Africa, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, U.S., Uruguay, Venezuela), and 29 abstentions (Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Cuba, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Hungary, Iceland, Ivory Coast, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Mongolia, Netherlands, Niger, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Saudi Arabia, Togo, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., Upper Volta, Yugoslavia).

Finally, the General Assembly rejected the Soviet draft resolution itself by a vote of 37 in favor (Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Burma, Byelorussian S.S.R., Cambodia, Ceylon, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ethiopia, Finland, Ghana, Guinea, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Mali, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan, Poland, Rumania, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., U.A.R., U.K., Yemen, Yugoslavia and Norway (which requested after the vote had been taken, that its vote be recorded as "in favor" instead of "abstaining")), 48 against (Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Malaya, France, Gabon, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Ireland,

Italy, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Liberia Libya Luxembourg, Malagasy Republic, Mauritania, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Senegal, South Africa, Spain, Tanganyika, Thailand, Turkey, U.S., Uruguay, and Venezuela), and 19 abstentions (Austria, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Iceland, Israel, Ivory Coast, Lebanon, Netherlands, Niger, Nigeria, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, Togo, Tunisia, Upper Volta). Thus in all instances a majority voted with the United States.

Though the General Assembly had thus unmistakably pronounced itself on the substance of the issue, the U.S.S.R. again raised the question of Chinese representation at the December 18, 1961, meeting of the Credentials Committee (made up of Australia, Burma, Iceland, Italy, Mali, Nicaragua, Peru, the U.S.S.R., and the United States). The Soviet Representative, Ambassador Platon D. Morozov, proposed that the Committee decide "to declare invalid" the credentials of the "group illegally" occupying the seat of China. The Chairman of the Committee, Ambassador Thors of Iceland, ruled this proposal out of order on the ground that the General Assembly after 2 weeks of discussion had taken "firm decisive action" to the effect that "no change" was to be made in the representation of China during its present session. The Soviet Representative challenged the Chairman's ruling, but it was upheld in Committee by a vote of 6 to 3 (Burma, Mali, U.S.S.R.). On December 19, 1961, the General Assembly voted 73 to 1 (Hungary), with 10 abstentions, to approve the report of the Credentials Committee as a whole. Prior to the voting, several Soviet-bloc countries, together with Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Cuba, India, Indonesia, Guinea, Nepal, the United Arab Republic, and Yugoslavia, made statements for the record expressing reservations on the Credentials Committee's action concerning the credentials of the Government of the Republic of China. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton, for his part reminded those delegates who had sought to reopen the debate on Chinese representation in this manner, that they were engaging in a "footless and fruitless exercise," since their proposal had been decisively rejected by the General Assembly and "that decision governs and is controlling."

Charter Review

For the fourth time the General Assembly at its 16th session decided to postpone any decision on the time and place for convening a U.N. Charter review conference. This question has been before the As-

sembly since 1955, when the 10th General Assembly decided in principle to hold such a conference at "an appropriate time" but left open the question of when and where the conference should convene. At that time the Assembly established a committee of the whole to make recommendations on the time, place, organization, and procedures of a Charter review conference. The committee has since reported to the 12th, 14th and 16th sessions of the Assembly but has never found that there yet existed the "auspicious international circumstances" for review of the U.N. Charter referred to in the 10th General Assembly's resolution.

The 16th General Assembly had before it the report of its committee of the whole on arrangements for a Charter review conference. This committee had held its third session on September 14, 1961. At this session, the Ghanaian Representative put forward a draft resolution for recommendation to the Assembly similar to those previously adopted by the committee except that the Ghanaian draft would have the Assembly request the committee to report again not later than the next (the 17th) Assembly. Previous committee resolutions had recommended to the Assembly that the committee be kept in being and requested to report back again not later than two Assemblies hence, i.e., the 14th and 16th sessions, respectively.

In introducing his draft resolution and in urging the importance of Charter review, the Ghanaian Representative stressed particularly the need "to ensure more equitable representation" in the principal U.N. organs "for the increasingly numerous Member States of Asia and Africa." At the same time he conceded that "a review would be practicable only if there was a fairly broad basis of agreement, particularly among the Great Powers" and that the atmosphere at present "was not favorable to such agreement." It was in the hope, he said, "that the world situation would soon improve sufficiently to allow the reviewing to be envisaged" that he had submitted his draft resolution. In the meantime, he concluded, "it would still be incumbent on the United Nations to consider improvements in its organization" under the amendment process provided by the Charter.

General support was expressed for the Ghanaian draft resolution and for the emphasis given by the Ghanaian Representative to the need for more equitable opportunities for representation in the principal U.N. organs.

The Soviet Representative, however, once again reasserted the position of his Government since the question of Charter review first arose in 1955 that participation of the Chinese Communists is an "indispensable condition" to review. He stated that while the Soviet Union did not oppose the operative portions of the Ghanaian draft

resolution and "even hoped that the question of the participation of China would soon be settled and that the Committee would thus be able to make concrete proposals to the Assembly before very long," the U.S.S.R. would abstain on the draft resolution as a whole since some of its preambular provisions were open to misinterpretation.

Explaining the U.S. position, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton recalled that the United States had been one of the cosponsors of the original resolution in 1955. The United States had agreed, he said, with many members that the international climate at the time was not conducive to constructive review. The United States had also been convinced that "a study of the Charter which would result in a strengthening of the United Nations could be conducted only with the support of the great majority of the members." The U.S. Representative noted that twice since 1955, in 1957 and in 1959, the Committee on arrangements had concluded that the international atmosphere was still not auspicious for the holding of a review conference. "Most members," he observed, "shared the belief that a review conference held in a period of international tensions of suspicion and distrust among nations, might easily produce such sharp controversies that the international organization instead of being strengthened, might be seriously weakened or even destroyed with no agreement on a substitute possible."

The U.S. Representative then stated:

The United States position today remains substantially the same as it has been in the past, that is, we are willing to support the convening of a Review Conference whenever a substantial majority of United Nations Members believes the time to be propitious. However, for its part, the United States does not consider the present international atmosphere conducive to a dispassionate review of the Charter. Such a review must necessarily have as its base general agreement on the objectives of the conference. Such general agreement, does not now appear to exist, nor does there appear to be that sense of common interest among all the members which is a prerequisite to constructive review.

Experience has shown that the United Nations has not been limited so much by its Charter as by the policies and attitudes of its members. Indeed the history of this Organization shows that the Charter has been a flexible instrument susceptible of growth and development to the extent United Nations members have been prepared to see it grow and develop. Taking all these factors into account, it is the United States view that we should for the present concentrate our efforts to strengthen the United Nations on developing to the fullest its existing mechanisms and procedures and on evolving new instrumentalities within the framework of the present Charter if and as the need arises.

In taking this position, the United States by no means precludes amendment of the Charter in specific respects under Article 108 when a clear and generally recognized need for amendment exists. For example, the United States continues to support a reasonable enlargement of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council in order that these Councils may more accurately

reflect the present membership of the United Nations and also to provide greater opportunity for all Members to participate in the work of these important bodies. Such changes do not, however, require overall review of the Charter but only general agreement on specific amendments.

The Ghanaian draft resolution was adopted by a vote of 65 to 0, with 9 (Soviet bloc) abstentions. It was subsequently approved without discussion by the 16th General Assembly on December 15, 1961.

PART II

Economic and Social Cooperation and Human Rights

ECONOMIC COOPERATION

International economic cooperation is accomplished and supported by numerous activities of the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies, and other organizational elements of the U.N. family. Within the U.N. system most of the economic work comes under the purview of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the General Assembly's Economic and Financial Committee supplemented by its Administrative and Budgetary Committee. The Economic and Social Council is assisted in this regard by several of its functional commissions such as the Commission on International Commodity Trade and the Statistical Commission, and by four regional commissions: the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), and the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA). In addition, ECOSOC has a Committee for Industrial Development. Other important organizational entities are the U.N. Special Fund and the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (ETAP). The U.N. Secretariat itself implements several programs of technical assistance. These programs are financed from the U.N. regular budget, and include, among others, special programs on economic development and on public administration.

Specialized Agencies for achieving and facilitating international financial cooperation include the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Development Association (IDA), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Bodies concerned primarily with trade and commodity matters include the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), a Specialized Agency, and the Secretariat for the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which though not a U.N. organization works closely with

the United Nations. Specialized Agencies which are at work in the transport and communications field include the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), International Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO), International Telecommunications Union (ITU), Universal Postal Union (UPU), and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO).

Action by the General Assembly

The 1961 economic activities of the United Nations and its related organizations emphasized acceleration of the economic development of less developed countries. Such development is essential to their viability, economic and political, and must be sustained if the independence of these countries is to be maintained. In most instances this requires external financial assistance.

There is general acceptance of the view that a high degree of development requires a substantial measure of industrialization. The less developed countries generally view industrialization as essential for their economic progress. Countries which have been heavily dependent on exports of raw materials for foreign exchange earnings—particularly those depending on exports of one or two primary commodities—have sought diversification of their economies through industrialization all the more urgently, since over the past several years world prices of raw materials have tended to fall relative to the prices of other categories of trade. Consequently, there have been increasing demands on the United Nations to provide assistance to industrialization of developing countries. Concommitantly there have been growing demands for other international measures to reduce the harmful effects of declines in world prices for raw materials.

United Nations Development Decade

In recognition of worldwide support for furthering economic and social development, the General Assembly adopted President Kennedy's proposal made during its 16th session which convened September 19, 1961 to designate the current decade as the "United Nations Development Decade." The resolution calls for member countries:

(a) To pursue policies designed to enable the less developed countries and those dependent on the export of a small range of primary commodities to sell more of their products at stable and remunerative prices in expanding markets, and thus to finance increasingly their own economic development from their earnings of foreign exchange and domestic savings;

(b) To pursue policies designed to ensure to the developing countries an equitable share of earnings from the extraction and marketing of their natural resources by foreign capital, in accordance with the generally accepted reasonable earnings on invested capital;

(c) To pursue policies that will lead to an increase in the flow of development resources, public and private, to developing countries on mutually acceptable terms; and

(d) To adopt measures which will stimulate the flow of private investment capital for the economic development of the developing countries, on terms that are satisfactory both to the capital-exporting countries and the capital-importing countries.

The resolution also calls for the following approaches and measures:

(a) The achievement and acceleration of sound self-sustaining economic development in the less developed countries through industrialization, diversification and the development of a highly productive agricultural sector;

(b) Measures for assisting the developing countries, at their request, to establish well-conceived and integrated country plans—including, where appropriate, land reform—which will serve to mobilize internal resources and to utilize resources offered by foreign sources on both a bilateral and a multilateral basis for progress towards self-sustained growth;

(c) Measures to improve the use of international institutions and instrumentalities for furthering economic and social development;

(d) Measures to accelerate the elimination of illiteracy, hunger and disease, which seriously affect the productivity of the people of the less developed countries;

(e) The need to adopt new measures, and to improve existing measures, for further promoting education in general and vocational and technical training in the developing countries with the cooperation, where appropriate, of the specialized agencies and States which can provide assistance in these fields, and for training competent national personnel in the fields of public administration, education, engineering, health and agronomy;

(f) The intensification of research and demonstration as well as other efforts to exploit scientific and technological potentialities of high promise for accelerating economic and social development;

(g) Ways and means of finding and furthering effective solutions in the field of trade in manufacturers as well as in primary commodities, bearing in mind, in particular, the need to increase the foreign exchange earnings of the under-developed countries;

(h) The need to review facilities for the collection, collation, analysis and dissemination of statistical and other information required for charting economic and social development and for providing constant measurement of progress towards the objectives of the Decade;

(i) The utilization of resources released by disarmament for the purpose of economic and social development, in particular of the under-developed countries.

In connection with the United Nations Development Decade, the General Assembly also endorsed the U.S. suggestion for increasing the resources available for technical assistance through the Special Fund and the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance so that their combined budgets for these two organs in the year 1962 reach the target of $150 million. In the same action, the General Assembly asked the Special Fund to consider the desirability of establishing a service to provide developing countries upon their request with information and guidance on the policies, rules, regulations, and practices of existing and future sources of development capital and

assistance in order to enable the less developed countries to determine for themselves the most appropriate sources to which they may turn for assistance as needed.

Planning for Economic Development

In recognition of the need of the less developed countries for establishing and implementing all-inclusive and well-integrated national development plans, the General Assembly at its 16th session adopted a resolution on planning for economic development. It invited the governments concerned acting, as appropriate, through the regional economic commissions or their appropriate subordinate bodies, to submit requests to the Special Fund for assistance needed for the establishment of economic development and planning institutes. These institutes are to be closely linked to the respective regional commissions with a view to providing prospective trainees the benefits not only of theoretical but also of practical training and an acquaintance with the important work of the secretariats of the regional economic commissions. The Economic and Social Council was invited to recommend that the regional economic commissions for Africa, for Latin America, and for Asia and the Far East consider this matter at their forthcoming annual sessions. The General Assembly expressed the hope that the Special Fund would give prompt and sympathetic consideration to the establishment of the institutes in question.

In the same resolution, the General Assembly requested the U.N. Secretary-General to establish an economic projections and programing center with subcenters as appropriate in the regional economic commissions or institutes of economic development and planning. The purpose of the request was to intensify and expedite activities for preparing long term projections of world economic trends, to facilitate the formulation of national economic plans, and to provide studies of planning techniques under various economic and social systems which would be helpful to national and regional institutes of economic development and planning. The Secretary-General was also invited, with the assistance of a group of experts to prepare a study summarizing the experience gained and the techniques in use in the planning of economic development of different countries.

Industrial Development

The U.N. Committee on Industrial Development at its first session, March–April 1961, endorsed a proposal put forward by the United States recommending that the Secretary-General establish an industrial development center. The Economic and Social Council at its

31st session approved this recommendation. Tasks of the center are to include coordination of the efforts of the United Nations and its related bodies, respecting industrialization and facilitation of the collection and dissemination of pertinent information particularly in respect to assistance in industrialization. During the second half of 1961, the Center was established and began limited operations.

The General Assembly at its 16th session again adopted a resolution concerning industrial development in which, among other things, it asked that the Industrial Development Center coordinate its activities with other international bodies operating in the industrial field, and take into account the social implications of the industrial process. In this resolution ECOSOC was asked to direct the Committee for Industrial Development to give further consideration to the expansion of U.N. activities in the field of industrial development, and in particular, the advisability of establishing a specialized agency or any other appropriate body for industrial development. The United States has maintained that the establishment of a specialized agency for industrial development is unnecessary and if carried through would cause confusion and waste scarce resources through the duplication of work of other agencies.

The Economic and Social Council at its 32d session requested the U.N. Administrative Committee on Coordination to take further steps toward developing a concerted approach to work on industrialization by the United Nations and its related agencies.

Importance of International Trade to Development

The concern of the less developed member countries of the United Nations about their returns from international trade as a source of resources for development gave rise to the adoption by the General Assembly at its 16th session of a resolution concerning international trade as a primary instrument for economic development. The resolution recognizes that the economic development of countries must be based primarily on their own efforts through the utilization of all their productive resources; and that for acceleration of their development, it is essential that countries insure maximum expansion of trade and of their foreign exchange income resulting from increases in the volume and value of their exports. The economically developed countries were urged, when formulating and executing their trade and economic policies, to take due account of the interests of the developing and less developed countries. Particular emphasis was given to the need for the facilitation of the expansion of the latter's trade and the attainment of a satisfactory coordination of efforts in the field of trade.

Application of Science and Technology to Development

On the basis of a report from the U.N. Scientific Advisory Committee (see page 43), ECOSOC decided to establish a U.N. Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas in order to benefit and accelerate the economic and social development of these areas. This governmental conference is to be held under the auspices of the United Nations and the Secretary-General is to take the necessary steps to invite states members of the United Nations or of the Specialized Agencies and nongovernmental oganizations in consultative status. Although ECOSOC decided that the conference should be held in Geneva, if possible in August 1962, for not more than 12 days, the U.N. Scientific Advisory Committee in discussing the development of the final agenda and the preparations of technical papers to be presented decided to recommend to the Secretary-General that a more realistic date would be early 1963. The Secretary-General has accepted this suggestion. The general theme and agenda of the conference as proposed by the Scientific Advisory Committee and accepted in principle by ECOSOC covers the following points:

1. The development of the economy of the less developed countries through a better utilization of their human, raw material and energy resources;
2. Acceleration of industrial development through the use of the latest achievements in science and technology;
3. Development of agriculture by the utilization of the latest achievements in agricultural techniques for training of national personnel in particular cadres of scientists, engineers, scientific teachers and technicians;
5. The organization of scientific research in developing countries; and
6. The improvement of public health.

World Food Program

The initiative for a world food program (see page 234) came from the farsighted resolution introduced by the United States and approved by the General Assembly in October 1960, which requested the Secretary-General and the Director General of the Food and Agriculture Organization, following appropriate consultations, to establish procedures with the assistance of the U.N. system and to make available the largest practicable quantity of surplus foods as a measure against hunger. These arrangements, together with a report on the role which the U.N. system should play in utilizing food surpluses for the economic development of less developed countries, were submitted

subsequently to the FAO Conference, the 32d session of ECOSOC, and the 16th General Assembly.

The basis for a 3-year experimental World Food Program was established by a General Assembly resolution adopted at its 16th session by a vote of 99 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 (Soviet bloc) abstentions, which followed affirmative action taken by the 11th FAO Conference. This joint UN/FAO program is to provide surplus foods through the U.N. system for the use of food-deficient peoples and to developing countries. Emphasis is to be placed on emergency relief, child-feeding programs, and on pilot projects, using food for purposes of economic and social development, particularly when related to labor-intensive projects (those using great amounts of labor relative to capital employed) and rural welfare. Resources for operating the World Food Program are to be provided by voluntary contributions of surplus foodstuffs, services (e.g., shipping), and funds with an overall target of $100 million for the 3-year period. The adoption of detailed procedures and arrangements for operation of the program were deferred to 1962 when action will be taken by an UN/FAO Intergovernmental Committee established jointly by ECOSOC and the FAO Council.

Development of Africa

The General Assembly at its 16th session reaffirmed its previous expressions of special interest in the economic and educational development of Africa, and made a series of requests to the Secretary-General, the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), and other agencies to support African development.

One General Assembly resolution urged the establishment under the auspices of the ECA of an African Institute of Economic Development and Planning. It also requested the Commission to convene a meeting of African countries to examine their international trade policies and to work out immediate and common solutions regarding the disposal of their principal products on external markets. The Commission was also asked to study further the measures required for increasing the volume of domestic savings in the African countries as well as the measures necessary for accelerating the flow of foreign public and private capital to African countries.

Permanent Sovereignty Over Natural Resources

The General Assembly at its 16th session adopted a resolution which requested the printing for general availability of a revised study prepared by the U.N. Secretariat on the status of permanent sovereignty over natural resources and of a report of the Commission on Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources. Because of time limita-

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tions, no substantive action was taken on the resolution recommended by the Commission on Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources. Discussion was deferred until the 17th session of the General Assembly which will meet in 1962.

Regional Economic Commissions

There are four regional economic commissions under the United Nations. The United States is a full member of the Economic Commissions for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), Europe (ECE), and Latin America (ECLA). It is an official observer in the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). Activities carried on under the auspices of the regional economic commissions continued in 1961 to respond to the expressed needs of their respective member governments. These commissions, particularly those for Asia and the Far East, Latin America, and Africa centered their work and discussions on programing of economic and social development and its achievement. The commissions for Latin America and for Asia and the Far East took additional initiatives toward the establishment in their respective regions of training and advisory institutes concerned with economic and social development and planning.

Over the years member countries in the respective regions have tended increasingly to look to their regional economic commissions for sympathetic understanding of their national economic and social problems and of their need for international cooperation and assistance in dealing with these problems. Many of the less developed countries have consequently urged a decentralization of U.N. economic activity to the regional commissions. Their wishes have met with a sympathetic response by other members and a number of resolutions supporting such actions have been adopted by ECOSOC and the General Assembly. Moreover, the General Assembly, at its 16th session in the fall of 1961 adopted a resolution explicitly calling for decentralization of the economic and social activities of the United Nations to the regional economic commissions. The General Assembly urged the strengthening, without delay, of the secretariats of the regional economic commissions as executive arms of the United Nations in the economic and social fields, including technical assistance operations. This is to be accomplished by an increased delegation of substantive and operational functions and responsibilities to the regional secretariats; and the provision of the requisite resources, including personnel, while maintaining the central substantive functions at U.N. Headquarters, including policy guidance and coordination. Moreover, such decentralization is to be accomplished without affecting the provision of assistance to countries which are not mem-

bers of any regional economic commission. The General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to take immediate steps toward full implementation of this policy.

Economic Commission for Africa (ECA)

The third session of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) was held from February 6 through February 18, 1961, at its headquarters in Addis Ababa. Representatives of all members of the Commission were present. The United States, which has observer status in this Commission, was represented by a five-man observer delegation, and the United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs was present for a short time during the session. The session brought together the largest group of representatives of African states ever assembled. Most of the African states represented had gained their independence only during recent years.

The Commission laid particular stress on the need for concerted action toward economic development in Africa. It was generally agreed that if economic development was to proceed at an accelerated rate, intensive efforts were required of both peoples and governments. Several delegations emphasized that their governments were endeavoring to mobilize public opinion in a great national effort toward self-betterment. All delegations were unanimous in recognizing that African countries needed more international financial and technical aid in order to accelerate their economic development, although such aid, however important, could only supplement national efforts which must assume the decisive role in the process of development.

The session expressed concern at the deterioration in the prices of primary goods. All delegations agreed on the need for commodity stabilization, but recognized that stabilization of primary commodities is a highly complex problem which could best be solved through worldwide cooperation.

Some delegations expressed concern about the possible effects of the European Economic Community on their commodity exports and possible harmful effects which such association might have on the economies of the associated countries by preventing diversification and industrialization.

The Commission adopted a draft resolution requesting the Executive Secretary to make a thorough study of the possibilities of establishing an African Development Bank and to submit a report to the Commission at its next session.

Regarding the relative roles of multilateral and bilateral assistance, it was recognized that while the former had increased in volume and importance the latter still remained much more significant. The Commission generally stressed, however, that more and more of the

available aid should be channeled through multilateral organizations. Support was expressed for the decentralization of U.N. technical assistance activities as a means of enabling ECA to play a greater part in the programing of projects in the region.

A Conference, sponsored jointly by ECA and UNESCO, was held at Addis Ababa May 15–25, 1961, to consider the development of education in Africa. The United States was represented by a nine-man delegation headed by the Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs. The Conference discussed Africa's educational needs for economic and social development and recommended certain educational targets. It studied the interrelationships of education and economics and expressed the view that strong financial support of education in Africa will prove to be a high-grade investment.

During the year ECA conducted numerous seminars, workshops, study tours, and meetings of working groups concerned with such subjects as family and child welfare services, cartography, statistical surveys, and inservice training for African economists and statisticians.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE)

Throughout 1961 the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) continued encouraging regional cooperation with a view toward a solution of the major economic and social problems of the region. To this end the Commission worked on various phases of economic and social development, operating through its Secretariat in Bangkok, through its principal committees, and through conferences, seminars, and working groups. The work program is carried out in eight broad divisions of the ECAFE Secretariat: Technical Assistance and Advisory Services, Industry and Natural Resources, International Trade, Inland Transport and Communications, Research and Planning, Water Resource Development, Agriculture, and Social Affairs.

During 1961 the membership of ECAFE increased. Outer Mongolia was admitted to the United Nations in October 1961 and, pursuant to a resolution of the Economic and Social Council, became the 25th regular member of ECAFE. Besides Outer Mongolia, the U.S.S.R. is the only other Soviet-bloc country in ECAFE.

The 17th plenary session of ECAFE was held at New Delhi in March 1961. The Commission reviewed the economic situation in the Far East. As in previous years it stressed the importance of increasing agricultural production which was recognized as a critical factor in economic development. In the field of foreign trade, the Commission again expressed concern at the uncertainties caused by sharp fluctuations in the region's export earnings from primary prod-

ucts, which result from change in the level of economic activity in the industrial countries of the world. The review of the economic situation centered around the study of public finance. The Commission underlined the importance of mobilizing the savings of the community for economic development through the public sector and considered such action to be of prime importance in the attempt to secure economic growth.

The principal committees of the Commission are those on Trade, on Industry and Natural Resources, and on Inland Transport and Communications. All of these Committees met early in 1961 prior to the meeting of the 17th plenary session of ECAFE.

The Committee on Trade at its fourth session held at Bangkok in January of 1961, discussed trade and trade policies of the countries of the region, developments related to the European Economic Community and the European Free Trade area, problems of commercial arbitration, international trade fairs, marketing of jute and jute products, and customs administration.

The Committee on Industry and Natural Resources held its 13th session in Bangkok. It reviewed the progress and problems of industrialization in the region. It also examined methods of promoting regional and international cooperation in industrial development. Under this Committee work was carried on by subordinate bodies in such fields as canning and bottling, food preservation, geology, mining developments, and housing.

At its ninth session at Bangkok in February 1961, ECAFE's Inland Transport and Communications Committee examined freight rate structures and considered the question of transport coordination.

Besides the activities of its standing committees, ECAFE also sponsored several conferences. The third series of intraregional trade promotion talks was held in January of 1961. Discussions were held on cooperation among ECAFE countries for the promotion of tourism, possibilities of regional trade cooperation, measures for stabilization of markets, and establishment of joint industries and joint industrial development projects.

A significant meeting in terms of the future work of the Commission was the first session of the Conference of Asian Economic Planners held in New Delhi in September. The Conference, in which the United States participated, reviewed the present status of economic development and planning in the region and discussed specific problems of development. It recommended that the ECAFE Secretariat prepare a detailed proposal for the creation of an Asian institute of economic development and that the Commission consider the establishment of a regional advisory group on economic development planning. The institute would help alleviate the serious shortage of trained personnel in the region for the formulation and implementa-

tion of economic development plans and advisory groups would augment the present advisory services provided by the Secretariat.

ECAFE continued to give administrative support through its Secretariat to the Committee for the Coordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin which is made up of representatives of Cambodia, Laos, Republic of Viet-Nam and Thailand. The Committee met four times during 1961 and approved the progress being made in the investigations carried on which should eventually lead to the development of the Lower Mekong Basin and thereby make an important contribution to the economic development of the area.

Economic Commission for Europe (ECE)

The Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) carried on its work during 1961, as in previous years, under certain limitations which result from East-West political differences. Notwithstanding these difficulties the ECE committees, meeting throughout the year, continued their work programs to improve and develop economic relations among the European countries.

The 16th plenary session of the ECE was held in April at the site of its headquarters in Geneva. The Soviet bloc used this forum for political propaganda purposes. Certain world events which took place while the session was in progress were used by the Communist bloc in an attempt to disrupt the orderly progress of the meetings. However, the Commission approved its program of work for the coming year and discussed the current economic situation in the United States and in Europe. Resolutions were adopted on such subjects as cooperation with underdeveloped countries, decentralization of U.N. economic and social activities, and strengthening of the regional economic commissions in the fields of technical assistance and utilization of water resources.

The various technical committees which, together with the Secretariat, perform the substance of the work of the ECE, conducted their meetings throughout the year generally free of the political outbursts which characterized the plenary session.

The Steel Committee, among other things, surveyed the uses of steel in building, made comparisons of different steel-making processes, and discussed productivity in the iron and steel industry. The Housing Committee continued to study, among other subjects, the European housing situation, major problems of government housing policy, allocation and prices of land for housing projects, housing for the elderly, and urban renewal programs.

A group of rapporteurs of the Conference of European Statisticians of the ECE devoted its efforts to studies on comparisons between

systems of national accounts in use in Europe. This topic has assumed much greater importance during the past year as a result of issues which have arisen in the General Assembly, particularly in its Committee on Contributions, concerning national income figures used as a basis for determining the scale of assessments of member countries of the Organization.

The United States participates in practically all of the activities of the ECE and exerts its best efforts to keep the work programs on a realistic basis capable of producing results of significant value to all member nations.

Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA)

During 1961 the most significant contribution of the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) to its member governments was again its increased work in the field of economic development. This work continued in the two closely related fields of training officials of member governments in economic development programing and planning techniques, and in sending advisory groups to member countries to assist in the preparation and execution of national development plans. The increase in the training program was initiated at the 9th session of the Commission, which met in May in Santiago, Chile. At that session it was recommended that the Commission's current training and advisory activities in the field of planning be expanded and that the Executive Secretary draft a plan for the organization of an autonomous institute for planning economic development. Planning the form and organization of the institute was one of the Commission's high priority projects during 1961. By the end of the year a tentative 5-year schedule of operations had been established and the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) had offered to provide $1 million as a local counterpart fund to money requested from the U.N. Special Fund to finance the institute.

The institute is to begin its training program in September 1962. It is to offer improved facilities for more trainees than the Commission's training program sponsored jointly with the U.N. Bureau of Technical Assistance Operations (UNBTAO) that it will replace. Under the Commission's training program, 40 officials of member governments attended an 8-month training program which began in Santiago in July. In addition, the ECLA Secretariat and UNBTAO collaborated on plans for intensive training courses in economic development which were given in six member countries.

In the field of national economic planning, advisory groups organized by the ECLA Secretariat and financed by the UNBTAO continued to operate in Colombia, Bolivia, and Chile. In order to

broaden and improve the services offered by these groups it was decided that their work should become a joint activity of ECLA, the Organization of American States (OAS), and the IDB with support from the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). The first group organized on this expanded basis started its work in Haiti in November with five personnel appointed by the Haitian Government.

In connection with the Special Ministerial Meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council of the OAS held in Punta del Este, Uruguay, in August, the ECLA Secretariat assisted in the preparation of background documents on which the discussions were based. The Governments of Ecuador, Haiti, and Uruguay requested the services of advisory groups to assist them in the preparation of development plans as required under the terms of the Alliance for Progress. As noted, the Advisory Group for Haiti began operations in November 1961. As the year closed, the Secretariat was forming advisory groups for the other two countries.

The ECLA Secretariat continued to work actively with the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) and the Permanent Secretariat of the General Treaty on Central American Economic Integration. In order to facilitate assistance to LAFTA a small ECLA office was set up in Montevideo during the First Conference of the Contracting Parties to the Montevideo Treaty which was in session from July 24 to December 12, 1961. The ECLA Secretariat also prepared two studies to facilitate the tariff negotiations during the conference and assisted in these negotiations. For the Central American Organization, ECLA prepared a number of studies and began research on income distribution and social security contributions in the member countries.

During the year the ECLA Secretariat augmented its program of study on the social aspects of economic development. It assisted with the organizational arrangements and prepared a number of background papers for a Conference on Education and Economic and Social Development jointly sponsored by ECLA, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), ILO, FAO, and the OAS. Although originally scheduled to be held in December 1961, the Conference was postponed until March 1962. The division also prepared special population studies.

The ECLA Secretariat continued to publish reports on the economy of Latin America and to organize meetings on specific aspects of the Latin American economy. The most important of these was the Latin American Electric Power Seminar sponsored by ECLA, the UNBTAO, and the Government of Mexico. It was held in Mexico City in August. Another important meeting was the Conference

on Tax Administration, sponsored jointly by the OAS/ECLA/IDB Taxation Program with the cooperation of the Harvard University Law School International Program on Taxation. This Conference took place at Buenos Aires in October.

International Finance

Private Capital for Economic Development

Further recognition was given in 1961 to the importance of stimulating an increased availability of private capital for economic development. The Economic and Social Council at its 32d session adopted a resolution which requested the Secretary-General "in cooperation with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and other interested specialized agencies, and in consultation with other competent organizations and persons, to continue his studies on the economic, legal and administrative means which may help the less developed countries to secure private capital for promoting their economic development and their advance toward self-sustaining growth, bearing particularly in mind the special problems of those countries with currently inadequate economic and social infrastructures."

Established International Financial Agencies

The four international lending institutions associated with the United Nations—the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the International Development Association (IDA)—are each designed to carry out a special function in connection with their common purpose of providing loans for financial stability and economic growth.

The International Finance Corporation in restricting its lending activities to investments in private enterprise, not only makes available scarce industrial capital but, at the same time, encourages the growth of the private sector of the economy which has been the traditional impetus for industrialization as for example in the United States.

Lending by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in 1961, consistent with policy in past years, emphasized the improvement and development of transport and power facilities. Concentration by the Bank on such typical preinvestment prerequisites as road, dam, and harbor construction is intended to help member countries establish the essential infrastructure basic to industrialization. The Bank also established a Development Advi-

sory Service to furnish economic and financial advice to the governments of the less developed countries. The Advisory Service is expected to assist especially in the field of development programing. During the year, the IBRD entered into numerous consortia agreements, an increasingly popular instrument for pooling available funds from among the industrialized nations and other international institutions.

In a world increasingly characterized by a drive for rapid self-sustaining economic growth, many countries are faced with chronic balance of payments deficits. Other nations, among them some of the highly advanced countries, have not been able to avoid temporary balance of payment difficulties. During 1961, in both the industrialized nations and the less developed countries, the International Monetary Fund credits were used for monetary stabilization. The United Kingdom transaction in August 1961, represented the largest drawing (an acquisition of credits in foreign exchange amounting to the equivalent of $1.5 billion in nine currencies) ever made on the Fund. Other less industrialized countries, often trading under the hazards and limitations of a primary commodity economy, also found the IMF useful in dealing with their balance of payments deficits. Another important activity of the Fund is that of encouraging member nations to abandon the practice of multiple exchange rates. A number of special standby agreements were negotiated during the year, under which the Fund has agreed to provide stipulated amounts of credits to member governments during periods of monetary reform or readjustment.

Much of the assistance provided by these institutions has been directed toward Africa and Asia where a host of newly independent nations are determined to establish a modern, industrial economy. The International Development Association which came into existence in September 1960, is able to make low or noninterest loans with a 50-year maturity to member countries.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)

One of the more significant actions of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)—also referred to as the World Bank—in 1961 was the creation of a Development Advisory Service. It consists of a permanent corps of experts available to serve as advisers to the governments of less developed members of the Bank, particularly in connection with the preparation and execution of development programs. Requests for resident advisers have greatly outstripped the resources that have, heretofore, been available to the Bank from its own staff. In addition it has been difficult to recruit qualified experts from outside the Bank for temporary assign-

ments. Through the new Development Advisory Service, the Bank hopes to overcome these difficulties, and to be able to make available to its member countries persons of high caliber for such periods of time as may be required.

In addition to this new program, the President of the IBRD is exploring with other institutions and member governments of the IBRD the possibility of establishing conciliation and arbitration machinery to assist in the settlement of financial disputes between governments and private investors.

The total loans made by the Bank in 1961 reached $717 million, the second highest annual lending figure computed (either on a fiscal or calendar year basis) ever reported by the Bank. Twenty-four countries were recipients of 34 loans made by the Bank in 1961, an increase of five countries and six loans over the number of countries and loans in 1960. Aggregate loans by the Bank on December 31, 1961, numbered 311 in 59 countries, and exceeded $6 billion.

The largest share of the World Bank loans in 1961 went to eight countries in Asia and the Middle East and totaled $391 million. Africa was the second largest borrowing area where five countries received loans totaling $63.3 million. In Europe, Finland and Yugoslavia were recipients of World Bank loans aggregating $55 million. An analysis of the loan distribution by area reveals that Asia and the Middle East were the largest borrowers for the 6th consecutive year.

The Bank's new affiliate, the International Development Association (IDA), extended its first credits during the year; and four of these were made jointly with loans by the Bank. Bank loans totaling $31 million for highway development in Chile, Colombia, and Costa Rica were made in combination with $44 million of IDA credits for the same purposes, and a Bank loan of $19.5 million for the Roseires irrigation project in the Sudan was made jointly with an IDA credit of $13 million for the same project.

There were four new bond issues sold by the Bank in 1961, equivalent to $84.4 million. However no issues were sold in the United States in 1961. Sales of borrowers' obligations during the year amounted to $204 million.

Loan disbursements in 1961 were $459 million compared to $510 million in 1960. The accumulated repayments on December 31, 1961, totaled $956 million of which $486 million had been made to the Bank and $470 million to holders of obligations purchased from the Bank's portfolio.

The net income including commissions in calendar year 1961 was $94 million which is credited to reserves. The total of supplemental and special reserves on December 31, 1961, was $652 million.

The IBRD refunded a total of $358 million of U.S. dollar and deutsche mark notes held by the Deutsche Bundesbank, which is the central bank of Germany and one of the principal sources of funds to the IBRD. In addition, the IBRD placed abroad $100 million 2-year 4 percent U.S. dollar bonds. This issue, replacing a similar issue which fell due in September 1961, was taken by 53 institutional investors in 32 countries.

The Bank's total bond and note issues outstanding on December 31, 1961, amounted to almost $2.4 billion, of which 53 percent were held outside the United States.

As in the past most of the IBRD loans in 1961 were employed for the improvement and development of transport and power facilities. These two categories alone constituted 76 percent of the total amount of loans made by the Bank in 1961. In Asia $166 million was lent for railroad development. The largest single transport loan in 1961 was $80 million to Japan in connection with the building of the Osaka-Tokyo railroad line, designed to provide the fastest train service in the world. The largest power loan in 1961 went to the Philippines, amounting to $34 million.

While there was an increase in the total amounts of loans in the power, transport, and industry categories, agricultural lending declined from $143 million in 1960 to $44 million in 1961. The largest agricultural loan was $19.5 million for the Roseires water storage project in the Sudan.

IBRD membership increased to 74 in 1961. The six new members were Cyprus, Laos, Nepal, New Zealand, Nigeria, and Portugal. In addition, the Dominican Republic was readmitted to membership with a subscription of $8 million, and Syria reassumed its membership following its separation from the U.A.R. The total subscriptions of these new members was $348.4 million.

The IBRD also authorized loans to five countries which had not previously borrowed from the Bank. Argentina and Venezuela, among the new borrowers, received $48.5 million and $45 million respectively. Both loans were employed in highway development. Other new borrowers were British Guiana, Tobago, Trinidad, and Uganda with aggregate loans amounting to $33.1 million.

The International Finance Corporation (IFC)

Membership in the International Finance Corporation (IFC) is contingent upon membership in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), and, except for Cuba which is a member of the IBRD but not of the IFC, the membership is the same. The purpose of the Corporation is to encourage economic development in less developed areas through investments in productive, private enterprise in member countries.

The Charter of the IFC was amended in 1961 to remove the prohibition against investment in capital stock and the IFC is now permitted to make equity investments in addition to conventional loans. As a result of this new authority, the IFC has made its first investments in privately owned industrial banks.

IFC investments continued in 1961 to show the usual concentration on industrial enterprises. A wide variety of products were involved. Two investments in Argentina, one a petrochemical company and the other a manufacturer of automotive transmissions, totaled $4.55 million. Companies in Peru and Jamaica also benefited from IFC investments. The largest single investment of the year was in connection with the Ismail Cement Industries in Pakistan and amounted to $4 million.

In the course of the year, the IFC sold three of its investments to private participants. The sales, aggregating about $2.5 million included a cement plant in Brazil, the Olinkraft Cellulose e Papel, also in Brazil, and a concrete company in Thailand.

The total accumulated investment of the IFC at the end of calendar year 1961 was $57.8 million, representing 45 investments in 18 countries.

Eugene R. Black, who is also President of the IBRD, became President of IFC in October and Martin Rosen, former head of the Bank's Far East Department, was appointed to the newly created post of Executive Vice President.

The International Development Association (IDA)

The Articles of Agreement of the International Development Association (IDA), an affiliate of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), came into force in September 1960. The purpose of IDA is to provide development capital on flexible repayment terms which bear less heavily on the balance of payments of the member countries than do conventional loans. In line with this concept, loans are made by the Association on much more liberal terms than is the case with World Bank loans. IDA loans follow a general pattern of 50-year maturity, without interest, and with repayment beginning after a 10-year period of grace; thereafter 1 percent of the principal is repayable annually for 10 years and 3 percent repayable annually for the final 30 years. A service charge of ¾ of 1 percent per annum is payable on the amounts withdrawn and outstanding to meet IDA's administrative costs.

Membership in IDA is open to all members of IBRD. The present membership of IDA is 56 countries, an increase of 19 members since December 1960. The members have subscribed to about $912 million of the initial authorized funds of $1 billion. Under the Articles of

Agreement, members of IDA are divided into two groups: (1) countries which are more advanced economically and (2) countries comprising the less developed nations. Each group makes payments on subscriptions to IDA in a different manner: the economically more advanced countries make an initial payment of 23 percent and the balance in four equal annual installments, all in convertible funds; the other group makes payments on the same installment basis, but of the total only 10 percent (half paid initially and the rest in four installments) is in convertible funds, the remainder to be paid in the member's own currency and not to be used by IDA without the member's consent.

Since May 1961, when the first development credit was authorized, IDA has extended credits totaling $180.8 million. Of the 18 credits authorized in 1961, $108.8 million was lent to Asian member countries, $59 million to Western Hemisphere members, and $13 million to African members. The largest single loan category was for transportation, amounting to $123.2 million, $110 million of which went into highway development. The largest single credit in 1961 was $60 million extended to India for highway construction.

Like the IBRD, most of IDA's loans in 1961 were in the field of transportation. However, the Association's next largest credit category was agricultural development, which constituted only about 7 percent of the IBRD loans in 1961. Recipients of IDA agricultural loans in 1961 were the Republic of China, Pakistan, Sudan, and India.

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

For the International Monetary Fund (IMF) the year 1961 was one of the most eventful of its history. Total financial activity greatly exceeded the volume of any previous year and the United Kingdom transaction became the largest on record. A major advance toward the goal of a multilateral system of international payments occurred when a group of IMF members declared their currencies formally convertible within the meaning of the Fund Agreement. The value of the Fund's existing resources was increased by materially expanding the use in its lending operations of currencies other than the U.S. dollar. At the close of 1961 arrangements were completed which will have the effect of making supplementary resources of $6 billion available to the Fund in times of need, thus strongly reinforcing the international monetary system of the free world.

IMF drawings in 1961 were made by 22 countries and amounted to the equivalent of nearly $2.5 billion. Repayments were about $0.8 billion. The United Kingdom drew the equivalent of $1.5 billion in nine currencies from the Fund and also entered into a standby arrangement for the equivalent of a further $500 million. The value of the

Fund to its less developed members was emphasized by the fact that they made the great majority of drawings from the Fund last year. During 1961, 18 of the 20 Latin American Republics made drawings or had standby arrangements. Since the establishment of the Fund, Latin American countries have drawn the equivalent of about $1.2 billion; they had an additional $400 million available at the end of 1961 under standby arrangements.

During 1961 six countries became IMF members, bringing the total membership to 74 and the total quotas to a little over $15 billion. In September the Fund Governors approved membership resolutions for four African nations. Soon thereafter, seven additional membership applications were received from newly independent African countries. Thus at the end of the year 11 countries were in the process of acquiring membership. These indications of interest in participation in the IMF reflect a growing appreciation of the usefulness of the Fund as a center of valuable consultation and advice.

The Fund continued its efforts to diversify the use of currencies by conducting lending operations in the currencies of countries with strong payments and reserve positions. This policy, which began after the adoption of external convertibility for the major European currencies at the end of 1958, was strengthened in 1961 by the acceptance of formal convertibility under the Fund Agreement by nine of the principal countries in Europe, plus Peru and Saudi Arabia. The effectiveness of the general policy of diversification is shown by the fact that, while 47 percent of total drawings in 1960 were in U.S. dollars, during 1961 the proportion was reduced to about one-third.

The Fund's currency transactions represent only one of the functions entrusted to it. Pursuant to the transitional provisions (article XIV) of the Agreement, the Fund carried on annual consultations with member countries which still impose exchange restrictions on current payments. In addition, consultations with members whose currencies are formally convertible within the meaning of the Fund Agreement were inaugurated on the basis of voluntary cooperation. The Fund also continued to maintain close and active relations with many of its members in the provision of technical assistance. The Fund's impartial and expert advice to members is regarded as one of its most important functions.

The adequacy of the Fund's resources was a subject of major and continuing interest during 1961. The importance of this question was emphasized by the President in his message on the balance of payments sent to the Congress in February 1961:

> We must now, in cooperation with other lending countries, begin to consider ways in which international monetary institutions—especially the International Monetary Fund—can be strengthened and more effectively utilized, both in furnishing needed increases in reserves, and in providing the flexibility required to support a healthy and growing world economy.

During 1961 there continued to be substantial movements of short-term funds between international financial centers. The revaluation of the deutsche mark and the guilder produced new rumors about currency changes and adversely affected confidence in sterling. The need for strengthening the Fund's resources was dramatized by the U.K. transaction in August, which was the largest ever engaged in by IMF. During and after the Vienna meeting of the Fund Board of Governors in September, 10 major industrialized members of the Fund, at the initiative of the United States, engaged in a series of conversations which culminated in certain arrangements agreed upon at a Paris meeting in December. These arrangements would provide for loans to the Fund of up to an aggregate of $6 billion by the participating members when they and the Fund determine that the Fund needs supplementary resources to meet its responsibilities in support of the international monetary system. It is anticipated that the U.S. share of the total amount committed will be $2 billion.

These arrangements will become effective if they are approved by the Executive Board of the Fund which will meet in January 1962; and when, following necessary legislative action, they are ratified by the requisite number of participating countries. If ratified, they will greatly enhance the ability of the Fund to cope with international payments problems by making available a means of obtaining supplementary resources when necessary.

United Nations Capital Development Fund

Pursuant to a resolution adopted in 1960, the 15th General Assembly decided in principle that a U.N. Capital Development Fund should be established and requested a committee of 25 government representatives, appointed by the President of the Assembly, to submit its recommendations to the Economic and Social Council at its 32d session in 1961. The Committee on the U.N. Capital Development Fund met in May–June 1961 to consider concrete preparatory measures, including a draft statute, for establishing a U.N. Capital Development Fund. As a result of these meetings the Committee issued a report recommending that (1) the Economic and Social Council circulate to all U.N. members and to the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations the 12 general principles it had approved to govern the establishment and operation of a U.N. Capital Development Fund; and (2) the Secretary-General be requested to prepare a report on the capital development needs of the less developed countries and be asked specifically to evaluate the effectiveness of existing arrangements and institutions in fulfilling these needs and to define fields in which additional international effort was still required.

The principles set forth in the 12-point declaration mentioned under (1) above included statements that assistance should be oriented toward the diversification of the economies of the less developed countries; assistance should be in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations; the bulk of the contributions should come from the more developed countries; assistance should be given on a long-term and continuing basis.

When the 32d session of the Economic and Social Council considered in 1961 the Committee's report, it limited its action to taking note of the Committee's report including the draft resolution and to transmitting it to the 16th General Assembly for consideration.

Subsequently the 16th General Assembly adopted the draft resolution recommended by the Committee by a vote of 70 to 3 (France, U.K., U.S.), with 7 abstentions. This resolution extends the mandate of the Committee, giving it the authority to draft legislation for the establishment of a U.N. Capital Development Fund. The United States voted against this resolution both in the Committee and in the 16th General Assembly, contending that another international institution within the U.N. family for economic development would involve wasteful duplication of effort since there already existed numerous sources of development capital such as the U.N. Special Fund, the International Development Association (IDA), and the Inter-American Development Bank. Furthermore, the United States pointed out at the meetings of the Committee on a U.N. Capital Development Fund that the principal obstacle to economic growth in many less developed countries is not the lack of external financing but rather the absence of trained people and supporting administration.

In accordance with the request of the Committee on the U.N. Capital Development Fund, the Secretary-General prepared a report which is entitled "The Capital Development Needs of the Less Developed Countries." The report states that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and its affiliates provided 10 percent of the capital inflow into the less developed countries in the period 1956–59. The remainder was provided on a bilateral basis in the form of private investment and public loans and grants. The report included estimates that the flow of capital into underdeveloped countries in 1956–59 represented a per capita contribution on the part of developed countries of only $8 per annum.

Trade and Commodity Problems

In 1961 international trade problems continued to receive major attention within the United Nations and other intergovernmental bodies dealing with economic matters. Significant progress was made during the year in the elimination of quantitative restrictions on imports of

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industrial products by the European countries. However, a number of countries continued to maintain restrictions on agricultural products, and much work remains to be done in this field. Increasing effort was also given to promoting satisfactory trade relationships with the European Economic Community and its trading partners. Considerable discussion on this issue took place in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) forum. A general round of tariff negotiations continued throughout 1961, looking toward the exchange of a number of tariff concessions among GATT members. A third important general area of activity centered around the particular problems of trade in foodstuffs and primary commodities and the related question of the trade needs of less developed countries. The latter is a matter of growing significance to the international community because of its bearing upon the capacity of these countries to finance economic development. There were intensified efforts to improve the conditions of major commodity markets. A study of "compensatory financing" as a means of easing some of the effects of market fluctuations was initiated, and increased attention was given to enlarging the market opportunities of the less developed countries.

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), negotiated in 1947 under the aegis of the United Nations, is a multilateral trade agreement containing schedules of tariff concessions and general provisions designed to foster the expansion of trade on a multilateral, nondiscriminatory basis. GATT is not an organ of the United Nations, but its work is coordinated with that of the United Nations through the efforts of member governments and the secretariats concerned. Trade activities of the GATT Contracting Parties and the United Nations generally complement rather than duplicate each other. The United States and most important trading nations are among the 41 contracting parties to the GATT. The Contracting Parties regard GATT's periodic business sessions as the best place in which to consider many current trade problems because of the contractual obligations and common aims binding its participants. The 18th and 19th sessions of the Contracting Parties were held from May 15 to 19, and from November 13 to December 9, 1961, respectively; and a Ministerial Meeting took place November 27–30, during a recess in the latter session of the Contracting Parties.

Program for the Expansion of International Trade

A highlight of GATT activity in 1961 was the convening of the Ministerial Meeting to review the GATT Program for the Expansion of International Trade—a major endeavor of the Contracting Parties

since 1958—and to chart a course for future progress in the three fields covered by the Program: tariff reduction, agricultural trade, and the export trade of less developed countries. Through recommendations for new procedures for future tariff reductions, special measures to achieve broader access to world markets for agricultural products, and intensified efforts to expand the export earnings of less developed countries, the more than 45 ministers or ministerial representatives attending the 4-day meeting gave renewed impetus and fresh policy guidance to the Program.

The ministers reaffirmed their confidence in the General Agreement as the basis for the trading relationships of their countries and agreed that steps should be taken to increase its effective application to the trade expansion program. They further agreed that the multilateral reduction of tariffs on a most-favored-nation basis should be continued, but that new techniques suited to the changes that have taken place in world trading relationships should be adopted. In this connection one of the techniques most prominently mentioned by the ministers was some form of across-the-board or linear tariff negotiation. Accordingly, the Contracting Parties established a working party on procedures for tariff reduction to examine new procedures and techniques for the further reduction of tariffs on a most-favored-nation basis. The working party is expected to meet late in 1962.

Having expressed great concern over the degree and extent of agricultural protectionism, the ministers requested that the Contracting Parties adopt procedures designed to form the basis for the negotiation of "practical measures for the creation of acceptable conditions of access to world markets for agricultural commodities." The Contracting Parties decided that the work would be coordinated by the GATT Council composed of government representatives, and that a first step would be taken in early 1962 with a preliminary examination of possibilities for a solution of the problem of trade in cereals.

In view of general concern that export earnings of the less developed countries are not keeping pace with the growth of their foreign exchange requirements and recognition that aid cannot be a substitute for trade in the financing of economic development, the ministers adopted a U.S.-sponsored Declaration on Promotion of the Trade of Less Developed Countries. The declaration recognizes the need for a special effort by all governments to expand the export earnings of the less developed countries, particularly through providing improved access to markets, and sets forth certain guiding principles to this end. The ministers further agreed that their governments should observe these principles as fully as possible, with the aim of reducing obstacles to the trade of the less developed countries in the near future. Moreover, in response to an appeal from the less developed countries for some concrete assurance that early progress will be made, the ministers

asked the Contracting Parties to draw up specific programs of action for the reduction of trade barriers and to establish procedures for keeping under review the actions taken by individual governments to improve market opportunities for the less developed countries. Most ministers agreed that the question of duty-free entry for tropical products should be given careful consideration.

Finally, the ministers considered the long-standing situation resulting from the fact that the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was not being applied to trade relations between Japan and some of the contracting parties. Some ministers expressed the hope that early action could be taken by the contracting parties concerned to enable Japan to participate fully in the GATT and agreed that such action would greatly add to the effectiveness of the GATT.

Other Trade Policy Matters

While the most far-reaching actions taken by the Contracting Parties in 1961 related to the new courses of action set out by the ministers for the GATT trade expansion program, an extensive array of other trade policy matters also claimed the attention of delegates during the two plenary sessions and in the course of a large number of intersessional meetings. Some of the principal topics covered were regional trading arrangements, including the European Economic Community (EEC), the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), and the Latin American Free Trade Area (LAFTA); programs designed to eliminate or reduce significantly quantitative import restrictions still imposed by some contracting parties; a new program, to be coordinated with the United Nations, for offering technical assistance in the commercial policy field to newly independent countries; the accession to the GATT of Sierra Leone and Tanganyika, bringing the total number of full contracting parties to 40; reviews of waivers of GATT obligations granted to certain contracting parties, including the United States; an extension of the arrangements to give newly independent states, chiefly in Africa, full opportunity to determine their future relations to the GATT; a review of the progress Yugoslavia has made toward arrangements which would permit her to apply under GATT's rules of trade conduct; a request by the United States that the Contracting Parties consider the special problem of applying the General Agreement to international trade in television programs; and a new free trade area established between Sarawak and North Borneo. Decisions were also taken agreeing to the accession to the GATT of Israel and Portugal following the completion of certain formalities relating to tariff negotiations both countries completed during the 1960–61 GATT Tariff Conference at Geneva.

During 1961 the first phase of the 1960–61 GATT Tariff Conference, dealing with negotiations related to the establishment of a common tariff by the member states of the European Economic Community (EEC), was substantially completed by the end of the year. The second phase of the GATT Conference dealing with general reciprocal exchange of new tariff concessions among contracting parties and countries negotiating for accession to the GATT was nearing final completion at the end of the year. In this phase the United States negotiated with 19 countries in addition to the EEC. Also during this period the United States continued negotiations with 15 Contracting Parties concerning compensation for adjustments of tariff concessions previously negotiated under the GATT.

Commodity Developments

Commission on International Commodity Trade (CICT)

The United States has been an active member of the Commission on International Commodity Trade (CICT) since it was reconstituted in 1958 with new terms of reference. Earlier when the Commission had been charged with the specific task of regulating the relationship between the prices of primary commodities and manufactured goods moving in international trade, the United States had declined to participate in its work. Under the new terms of reference, the Commission was given useful functions in the commodity field, namely the regular review of developments and trends in commodity trade and the formulation of views and recommendations as to possible governmental or intergovernmental action to deal with such problems as its studies disclose. Under its program of work adopted in 1959, the Commission is also studying the following four subjects with a view to promoting a better understanding of ways to alleviate the short term instability of commodity markets and other commodity problems: (1) the potentialities and limitations of various national and international stabilization techniques; (2) the possibilities of international compensatory financing, or of offsetting the effects of commodity price declines on balance of payments through compensatory loans or grants; (3) the medium-term supply and demand outlook for the principal primary commodities moving in international trade; and (4) the effects of business cycles upon commodity markets.

The review of the current commodity situation conducted by the Commission at its May 1961 session showed that there had been a further decline in the average level of commodity prices in 1960, despite record levels of production, consumption, and trade in primary products. The price index of manufactures moving in international trade had, on the other hand, increased. Thus the terms of exchange

between primary products and manufactures, which is a rough measure of the terms of trade of less developed countries, had continued the decline which set in after 1954. This weakness in commodity prices was the result of the accumulated surpluses and excess productive capacity which overhang the market for a growing number of primary products. In its report to ECOSOC, the Commission placed major emphasis upon this problem of imbalance of supply and demand as it had done the year before. It did not attempt to prescribe remedies, except in the most general way, recognizing that what is needed will vary from commodity to commodity.

The U.S. Representative, W. Michael Blumenthal, took the occasion of the Commission's review of the current situation for a major policy statement regarding the U.S. Government's attitude toward commodity problems, elaborating upon the position which had been announced in broad terms by President Kennedy in his March 12, 1961, Alliance for Progress speech. His statement emphasized the U.S. Government's recognition that alleviation of commodity problems is of great importance to sound economic development and emphasized the U.S. Government's determination to join in a serious search for solutions, and its willingness to examine any reasonable proposal for dealing with particular problems. The statement expressed the view that, for success in dealing with these problems, there must be a case-by-case study of the situation of specific commodities, and cooperation among producing and consuming countries. The statement was warmly welcomed by other members of the Commission as indicative of a possible turning point in the effort to reduce the impact of commodity problems upon world trade and the economies of less developed countries.

Of the four subjects on its work program, the Commission gave major attention in 1961 to compensatory financing. It had before it a report on the subject prepared by a group of experts upon request of the General Assembly. The experts' principal recommendations were that: (1) the compensatory role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) be augmented to the extent possible; (2) the possibility of long-term capital transfers for compensatory purposes be more fully exploited, and (3) consideration be given to supplementing these compensatory instruments with a "development insurance fund," which would be financed on the social insurance principle and utilized to give partial compensation for losses in export earnings due to market instability. The Commission had a useful preliminary exchange of views on the various ways in which the IMF's compensatory role might be enhanced and on the technical and policy questions which the proposal for a development insurance fund involves. It asked the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in consultation

with the staffs of other international agencies, to prepare a study on the more important of these questions, as background for the Commission's further consideration of the subject at its 10th session in May 1962. It agreed that certain aspects of the subject should be discussed at its joint session with the Food and Agriculture Organization's (FAO) Committee on Commodity Problems (CCP) which will be held immediately before the Commission's 10th session.

The Commission initiated its study of stabilization techniques by discussing the use of international commodity agreements and the considerations influencing governments' attitudes towards participation in such arrangements. It agreed that it should next consider the potentialities of national marketing boards and price stabilization funds and that this subject should be placed on the agenda for the joint session of the CICT and CCP. After reviewing reports on the progress being made by the FAO and U.N. Secretariats in developing supply-demand forecasts for agricultural and nonagricultural commodities, respectively, the Commission asked that a first substantive report embodying such projections be prepared for consideration at the joint session as well.

Finally, in light of further brief discussion of a technical report on the impact of business cycles on commodity trade prepared for the Commission's use, the Commission agreed that it would continue to give attention to the general question, as appropriate, drawing on the basic conclusions contained in the report.

FAO Commodity Activities

In addition to the Commission on International Commodity Trade and other international organizations concerned with commodity matters, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) carried out various activities in this field through its Committee on Commodity Problems (CCP) and other subsidiary bodies. These activities included intensive examination of particular commodity situations warranting intergovernmental attention, review of trends and developments in agricultural production and trade, consideration of the relationship of national and international price stabilization policies to these trends and developments, and examination of agricultural surplus questions with special attention being given to their utilization of surpluses for emergency and institutional feeding and in economic development.

Activities of FAO's study groups (on rice, grains, coconut and coconut products, cocoa, and citrus fruits) generally centered around consideration of the effects of national policies upon world markets and technical studies of ways to expand consumption, strengthen marketing procedures, and improve statistics. In addition, the Cocoa Study

Group concerned itself with the possible need for a price stabilization agreement. It established a committee to prepare a draft international cocoa agreement based upon the use of export quotas. When the Executive Committee of the Study Group considered this draft in October 1961, it had before it several alternative proposals. Given the need for time to study these alternatives and the marked improvement in the world cocoa market during the year, it was decided to postpone further discussion of a possible agreement until the Study Group's next regular meeting in May 1962.

The CCP also gave attention to certain other specific commodity situations, notably the current difficulties and outlook concerning dairy products. After reviewing requests that study groups be established for (a) jute and allied fibers and (b) hard fibers, it agreed to convene *ad hoc* meetings for these two commodity groups in 1962.

The CCP continued to provide, through its Consultative Subcommittee on Surplus Disposal, a center for information and consultation on surplus disposal programs and transactions, and to encourage governments to observe certain guiding principles in the disposal of agricultural surpluses. Following consideration of a report by the Director General of FAO entitled "Development Through Food—A Strategy for Surplus Utilization," the Committee gave preliminary consideration to the possibilities of a multilateral disposal program pursuant to a resolution adopted by the 15th General Assembly on the provision of food surpluses to food-deficient peoples through the U.N. system. The Committee also reviewed a first report on the plans and arrangements for national food reserves and agreed to keep this subject under review.

In light of comments, the Committe agreed to certain revisions in the proposed set of *Guiding Principles on Agricultural Price Stabilization and Support Policies* which had been prepared, at its request, by an expert panel and circulated to governments in 1960. A revised text was adopted for transmission to the Council and Conference, which in turn reviewed these recommendations and decided to circulate them to governments for comment and indications of degree of acceptance.

Commodity Activities of Other United Nations Bodies

Throughout 1961 certain U.N.-sponsored groups also dealt with specific commodity matters. The International Lead and Zinc Study Group, established in 1960 under U.N. auspices, was active during the year in keeping the current situation in the two metals under review and in promoting any necessary action to deal with it. Discussion in the Study Group had led to voluntary restrictions on supplies of lead and zinc in 1959. The restrictions on zinc were suspended in 1960 in

light of an improving supply-demand outlook. Restrictions on lead were again announced for 1961, along with plans of the U.S. Government to absorb certain surplus stocks of lead into its stockpile under barter transactions. A Special Working Group met during the year to study various possible longer-term solutions to the problem of instability in lead-zinc markets.

A U.N. Sugar Conference was convened during 1961 to negotiate new export quotas under the International Sugar Agreement, to take the place of those scheduled to lapse at the end of the year. Because the demands of Cuba were not found acceptable by other participating countries, it proved impossible to agree upon new quota provisions. Arrangements were made to insure continuation of other aspects of the Agreement, however, including the operation of the Sugar Council and its facilities for the regular exchange of information and statistics and for international consultation among exporting and importing countries.

Other important meetings on particular commodities were held outside the U.N. framework (e.g., on coffee and rubber). The necessary coordination of activities within the United Nations with the work of outside groups is a responsibility of the Interim Coordinating Committee on International Commodity Arrangements (ICCICA). This is a small committee of experts established by ECOSOC to assist in the coordination of activities of individual study groups and commodity councils and to advise the Secretary-General on the convening of commodity conferences.

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)

The Food and Agriculture Organization's (FAO) activities during the past year have been characterized by the development of new initiatives in fields where related programs were already underway. This is a reflection of the fact that agricultural development is essentially a continuing process. As the Organization approaches the 20th anniversary of the Hot Springs Conference held at Hot Springs, Va., in 1943 (at which an Interim Commission to plan a permanent international Food and Agriculture Organization was established), new methods are being devised and applied for the improvement of agricultural production, distribution, and utilization.

1961 marked the beginning in the FAO, as well as in the U.N. General Assembly, of a World Food Program. This program was conceived by the U.S. Government as a part of its Food-for-Peace effort. Also, 1961 marked the completion of the first full year of activities under the FAO's Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign. These and other programs are designed to marshal the world's food resources

in the struggle against hunger. All should in turn contribute to the broad U.S. initiative for a Decade of Development through the U.N. system, (see page 204), in which FAO will undoubtedly play a substantial role.

Growth in membership and budget kept pace with program development during the period. Starting the year with a membership of 82 nations, the Organization increased to 99 with the return of Syria following its separation from the United Arab Republic, and the election at the 11th Conference in November, of the following 16 new members: Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Léopoldville), Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Kuwait, Malagasy Republic, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Rumania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Upper Volta.

In 1961 British Guiana, Jamaica, Mauritius, and Tanganyika were elected to associate membership in FAO, joining the previous associate member—the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Also, by Conference action in 1961, two of the five associate members—Jamaica and Tanganyika—were granted permission to be admitted to FAO upon attainment of independence and adherence to the FAO Constitution.

FAO's regular budget increased from $21,536,850 for the 1961–62 biennium to $31,185,000 for 1962–63—an increase of $9,648,150. In addition to its regular program in 1961, FAO carried out projects under the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (ETAP) (see page 249) costing $9,649,175, and will probably have a slightly higher allocation in 1962. Also FAO has undertaken to execute 65 U.N. Special Fund (see page 254) projects costing $46,456,800. These projects will be carried out over the next 2 to 4 or more years.

World Food Program

The item attracting the most attention at the last FAO Conference held in November 1961, and probably the one involving the most important innovation by FAO during 1961, related to the setting up of a multilateral program of assistance to developing countries, based on the utilization of surplus foods. This differs from the FAO Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign which is essentially a food production campaign (see page 235). The World Food Program which emerged, on an experimental basis for 3 years, is the result of resolutions adopted by the U.N. General Assembly and the FAO Conference.

This program, to be undertaken jointly by FAO and the United Nations in cooperation with other organizations as appropriate, will be carried out under the guidance of a 20-country Intergovernmental Committee. Ten members—Argentina, Brazil, Canada, France, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Netherlands, the United Arab Republic,

and the United States—were designated by the FAO Council immediately after the Conference; the balance—Australia, Colombia, Denmark, Morocco, Nigeria, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia—were named by the Economic and Social Council at its Decembr 1961 session. The program will utilize voluntary contributions of food, services (e.g., shipping), and funds, with a target figure of $100 million. The aim is to have one-third of the total in cash.

Procedures and arrangements for the program will be developed by the February 1962 session of this Intergovernmental Committee and approved by concurrent sessions of the FAO Council and the U.N. Economic and Social Council in April 1962. Attention will be given to finding means to meet emergency food needs and emergencies inherent in chronic malnutrition. These means could include establishment of food reserves, assisting in preschool and school feeding and implementing pilot projects in which food aid can contribute to economic and social development. The program will be carried out by a joint FAO/UN administrative unit located in Rome. Projects undertaken, in response to requests from recipient countries, will be carried out in accord with the FAO principles of surplus disposal.

Following the meeting of the Intergovernmental Committee, a pledging conference will be convened jointly by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Director General of FAO.

Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign

The Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign, a 5-year program, launched by FAO in 1960, is primarily a food production campaign, with the accompanying goals of improving food distribution, nutrition, and general levels of living. One of the highlights of the Campaign will be the World Food Congress planned for 1963, probably to be held in the United States.

Progress of the Campaign was discussed at the 11th session of the FAO Conference. Two problems were brought out: (1) the continued lack of active support among developing countries in creating structures that would develop useful projects and get them into the program; and (2) the lack of "hard core" financing to provide strength in headquarters leadership and broader publicity.

The Conference, keeping in mind the current financial possibilities, budgeted $800,000 for the biennium 1962–63. Of this amount, $100,000 was to be allocated for the World Food Congress, leaving $350,000 per annum for actual campaign costs.

Freedom-From-Hunger activities are being carried out in the United States by the Freedom-From-Hunger Committee established within the American Food for Peace Council. The committee has set

up an "American Freedom From Hunger Foundation." This Foundation will give overall leadership within the United States in support of the Campaign. It will be legally empowered to carry out a wide variety of activities in the private sector on behalf of the campaign.

World Seed Campaign

When the World Seed Campaign began in 1957, the year 1961 was designated by FAO as the "World Seed Year." However, since many countries in the developing regions of the world were not able to make as much progress as was needed for the permanent improvement of their present seed industry, and, since the tentative plans to hold a World Seed Congress in 1961 did not materialize, it was decided to conclude the World Seed Campaign early in 1962 with a Technical Meeting on Seed Production, Control and Distribution.

The United States is taking an active part in the World Seed Campaign. A National Committee, under the leadership of the Department of Agriculture, worked in close cooperation with private seed research and trade groups. Another U.S. contribution was the USDA Yearbook for 1961, entitled *Seeds*. During the 11th FAO Conference the U.S. delegate presented to each of the other delegates, with an appropriate letter of transmittal, a copy of *Seeds*. Also a copy of this Yearbook was presented to one member of each delegation that participated in the Technical Committee on Agriculture.

Fertilizers

FAO published a study in 1961 which pointed up the role which fertilizers might play in the future development of critical food problem areas in Asia and the Far East. Questionnaires previously submitted to nine members in that area revealed that food needs would increase three-fold over a 3-year period. The Conference requested the FAO Director General to study this problem and suggest actions which the Organization might take as a part of the Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign to promote fertilizer production and increase imports under special arrangements, including grants, soft currencies, or easier terms.

Fish Protein

Certain programs were initiated by fishery technologists and economists for testing and promoting the use of fish protein concentrates; including fish meal and fish flour by humans. Under the umbrella of the Freedom-From-Hunger Campaign, FAO is seeking the active participation of WHO and UNICEF in these activities.

FAO African Survey

The Director General's report to the Conference on the FAO African Survey highlighted the need for further information on African conditions as prerequisite for undertaking operations in the newly emerging countries of that continent. The African Survey was essentially a factfinding operation, calling for cooperation with the United Nations, the International Labor Organization, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the Economic Commission for Africa, in an integrated approach to improve rural living standards and agricultural production. The Conference resolution which evolved in recognition of the role to be played by other U.N. agencies invited FAO to assist in the coordination of technical assistance.

Technical Assistance Activities

The substance of FAO's technical assistance program falls in three areas: land and water use; plant production and protection; and animal production and disease control. Problems related to conservation and the improvement of the fertility of soil under cultivation in the less developed countries have received particular attention. FAO projects are also concerned with marketing and processing of agricultural products ranging from dates to rice and from fibers to meats, hides, and skins.

Through 1961 FAO had been designated executing agency for 65 Special Fund projects, or more than a third of all projects initiated to date. When completed these projects will involve total Special Fund allocations of $46 million. A large percentage of the earlier projects approved either had their origin in or were directly related to activities carried out by FAO under ETAP. These projects, 38 of which were already underway at the end of 1961, will be carried out over the next 2 to 5 years.

Other than short-term advisory services provided from time to time by its technical staff or by consultants at the request of governments, FAO has not in the past pursued technical assistance activities as such under its regular program. However, for 1962–63, $400,000 was included in the regular budget primarily for technical assistance in agricultural development planning.

United States Participation in FAO Meetings

In 1961 the United States participated in 50 FAO-sponsored meetings. Included were sessions of the FAO Conference and Council, which are the principal governing bodies of FAO. Some were meetings of the regional forestry and fisheries commissions and the Inter-

national Rice Commission; some were meetings of working groups dealing with such commodities as grains, rice, cocoa, coconut, citrus fruit, coffee, and milk and milk products; some were technical meetings concerning veterinary education and animal disease and health problems. In addition, meetings were held jointly by FAO and other international organizations, such as the FAO/IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) meeting on Radioisotopes in Agricultural Research. There is a growing tendency on the part of international organizations, particularly Specialized Agencies, to collaborate more than in the past in such highly technical endeavors.

During the year the United States was host to one important FAO-sponsored meeting. This was the Conference on Fish in Nutrition, held in Washington, D.C., during the period September 19–27. The Conference was attended by 304 participants from 35 countries and international organizations.

FAO Publications

FAO renders a great service to its members in the collection and publication of worldwide statistics and on many aspects of food production, distribution, and utilization. These publications are on various aspects of agricultural, fisheries, forestry production, and trade, on the production and consumption of fertilizers, and on food consumption and related matters. Under the quota system established by the Organization, the United States receives sufficient copies of these publications to meet the needs of the various governmental agencies and to allow one copy of each to be placed in the libraries of the land-grant colleges and selected repository libraries throughout the United States.

FAO publishes agricultural production and trade yearbooks, the forestry and fisheries yearbooks and other publications summarizing world statistics, giving the food balance picture, or summarizing the current situation regarding certain commodities.

The Organization also publishes and distributes reports and studies on world food problems, summaries of new technical and economic findings, and other materials that are useful to the United States as well as to other member countries. Some examples are *State of Food and Agriculture*, a comprehensive review issued annually; *Agricultural Studies*, of which more than 50 separate subjects have been issued to date; *Agricultural Development Papers*, 71 of which have been issued for guidance of agricultural leaders; *Nutritional Studies*, including 17 major studies; monthly *Plant Protection Bulletin;* monthly *Bulletin of Agricultural Economics and Statistics;* bimonthly *Fisheries Abstracts;* quarterly *Unasylva;* and numerous publications in the *Commodity* and *Commodity Reports* series.

In addition, FAO now publishes the *FAO Marketing Guide*, the FAO *Atomic Energy* series and the FAO *Food Additive Control* series.

Transport and Communications

The United States continued throughout 1961 to participate in the activities of international bodies which further cooperation in the fields of transport and communications. These include the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the International Telecommunications Union (ITU), the Universal Postal Union (UPU), the International Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO).

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)

During 1961 the membership of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) increased from 83 to 90 countries. The new members include Central African Republic, Congo (Léopoldville), Cyprus, Dahomey, Niger, and Sierra Leone. Syria reassumed its membership following its separation from the U.A.R. In June an extraordinary session of the ICAO Assembly approved an amendment to the Convention on International Civil Aviation whereby the membership of the ICAO Council would be increased from 21 to 27 countries. This amendment will come into force when ratified by 56 ICAO member countries.

In January 1961 ICAO held a Limited European-Mediterranean Regional Air Navigation meeting at Paris. The meeting prepared a plan for the provision of short-range air navigation aids in the area and recommended frequency assignments for the more than 550 VOR's and DME's in the plan. VOR/DME (very high frequency omnidirectional radio range with distance measuring equipment) is the ICAO standard short-range air navigation aid and is part of the U.S. common system of civil and military air traffic control.

In April and May the ICAO Personnel Licensing Medical Division proposed changes in the ICAO standards and recommended practices for the licensing of air and ground crews. The development of aviation in general and civil jet aircraft in particular had made necessary a revision of these international regulations. In view of the increasing age of airline transport pilots, the Division recommended that such pilots flying internationally be not more than 60 years of age. The Division also proposed that electrocardiography form part of the heart examination when pilots' and air traffic controllers' licenses are first issued and in periodic reexaminations in some cases. The division

decided to introduce new licenses for pilots in command of helicopters carrying passengers in commercial air transport, ground radio operators, and radio mechanics as well as a new radar rating for air traffic controllers.

In late August ICAO convened a diplomatic Conference on Private Air Law at Guadalajara, Mexico, which was attended by 35 ICAO member countries and five other countries not members of ICAO but members of the United Nations or its other Specialized Agencies. The Conference approved a new convention which supplements the widely accepted Warsaw Convention governing the liability of air carriers to passengers and consignors. The new convention, which is not in effect and which has not been signed by the United States, is designed to settle liability problems arising when international carriage by air of passengers, baggage and cargo is performed by someone other than the person who entered the contract.

In September and October ICAO held its fourth North Atlantic Regional Air Navigation meeting at Paris. This meeting drafted a new plan for the many air navigation services and facilities needed to maintain safety and regularity of flight over the North Atlantic. Steps were taken to relieve traffic congestion and to reduce the number of centers from which traffic is controlled. Plans were completed for the use for aeronautical purposes of five communications channels in the new submarine cable from Scotland through Iceland and Greenland to Canada. This cable will be financed in part under an ICAO joint support arrangement whereby the countries whose aircraft fly across the North Atlantic will be assessed by ICAO on the basis of their proportionate share of the civil air traffic.

International Telecommunication Union (ITU)

While the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) had no major conferences during 1961, the work of its permanent organs continued. Through the Administrative Council and the General Secretariat, ITU was concerned with technical assistance to the new or developing countries, with new questions confronting the Union as a result of developments in space communications, and with other programs administered by the United Nations of specific interest to ITU. The Consultative Committees continued their studies of technical questions in the radio and telephone and telegraphic fields giving particular attention to those matters of interest to the new and developing countries.

The Administrative Council of ITU, which is an elected body of 25 government representatives, at its annual session (April 22–May 20, 1961) and through its Committee on Relations with the United Nations approved a report in which certain of the member countries

outlined the methods by which they individually could give technical assistance in the field of telecommunications to the new or developing countries without cost to ITU. Since then the United States has also submitted a similar outline.

The ITU Administrative Radio Conference, held in Geneva, in 1959 had recommended that a special conference be convened, tentatively in the latter part of 1963, to allocate frequency bands for space radiocommunication purposes. In a resolution adopted at its 16th session (res. 1721(XVI)) the U.N. General Assembly noted with satisfaction that ITU planned to call this special conference and recommended that ITU consider at that conference those aspects of space communication in which international cooperation will be required. The resolution further provided that ITU should be consulted by the Special Fund and the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (ETAP) (see pp. 248, 254) in connection with the consideration of requests from member states for technical and other assistance leading ultimately to their making effective use of space communication. Finally, the General Assembly requested ITU to submit a report on the above to ECOSOC and to the next General Assembly.

Earlier in 1961 the Secretary General of ITU, an American citizen, recognizing the unprecedented problems that this new type of space communication would raise, advised the Administrative Council that he would have studies conducted on the subject. The Secretary General attended the meetings in New York of the U.N. Committee on Outer Space to offer advice concerning the role ITU might play in the field of outer space communications.

In addition, the United States invited Study Group IV of the International Radio Consultative Committee (CCIR) which is concerned with technical problems of outer space communications, to meet in Washington from March 12 to 23, 1962. A very considerable interest is being shown internationally in this meeting and it is expected that all countries presently working in this field will be well represented. The studies will be influential in determining whether the proposed space conference should in fact meet in 1963.

Through a Special Study Group B set up for the purpose, the International Telegraph and Telephone Consultative Committee (CCITT) has, among other things, been engaged in a study of the adoption of standard dialing techniques for a worldwide telephone system. It also has reached preliminary conclusions through its Special Study Group A on Data Transmission on standardization for the effective operation of worldwide data transmission systems. The United States is a leading country in the development of both these techniques and has participated very actively in the work. The Chairman of Special Study Group B, and the Vice Chairman of Special Study Group A, are Americans.

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In accordance with the directives of the Geneva Administrative Radio Conference, the Administrative Council elected a panel of seven experts which includes a U.S. citizen to study the problem of measures to reduce congestion in the bands between 4 and 27.5 mcs. The first session of the Panel met September 11–29, 1961. It adopted an extensive interim report on ways and means of reducing the congestion of radio operations in the high frequency portion of the spectrum. This report contains no significant departures from standard American practices and policies. The second and last session of the Panel of Experts will meet in March 1963 to adopt a final report.

The new headquarters building of ITU in Geneva has been completed and the move into it was begun in late 1961. The United States had long urged the erection of this building to enable the Secretariat, to carry out its duties more efficiently. The American telecommunication companies have generously contributed funds which will enable the United States to furnish completely a staff lounge in the building.

Universal Postal Union (UPU)

The Universal Postal Union (UPU), founded in 1874, is one of the oldest of the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, and now has 114 members. It continues to pursue the objective for which it was founded—the improvement and facilitation of postal communication among all the peoples of the world.

The United States played an active part in the work of various committees and subcommittees of the Universal Postal Union during 1961. As Chairman of the Management Council of the Consultative Committee on Postal Studies, a Representative of the United States presided at the Committee's fourth annual meeting, held in Tokyo in October 1961. The Committee has established three sections to deal with technical, operational, and economic questions. In turn working groups within each of the sections continuously carry out studies on the questions involved in the interim between formal meetings of the Committee. Throughout the year, the United States made important contributions to the studies carried on by the working groups. The program of studies is well advanced, and includes technical matters such as automation of postal services, as well as basic questions of initiating postal service or expanding service within new developing countries. Much of the information developed has been published and distributed to the members of the UPU and should prove invaluable in the continued development of postal communications, especially for the new countries.

The United States was also represented in various subcommittees of the UPU taking up problems of interest to the members of the

Union and such organizations as the International Air Transport Association and the International Standards Organization.

During 1961 the United States again welcomed a large number of representatives of other postal administrations studying U.S. postal operations and procedures under the Technical Assistance program of UPU.

Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO)

The Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) came into being in March 1958. The 16-member IMCO Council was organized and held its first session in London in January 1959. It acts as the agency's governing body between sessions of the Assembly, which are held every 2 years. Subsequent sessions of IMCO's Council were held in London in July 1959, March 1960, January 1961, and April 1961. These dealt with the development of the work program, administrative arrangements, the relationship of the Organization with other U.N. Specialized Agencies, and consideration of the Report of the Maritime Safety Committee and the transmission of that report to the Assembly.

The IMCO Assembly, comprising all member states (now numbering 50), held its second session in London from April 5 to 15, 1961. Among its major actions was the election for a 4-year period of a new Maritime Safety Committee (MSC) of which the United States is a member. As a result of an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice, this key organ of IMCO had been reconstituted on a basis long advocated by the United States. Other Assembly actions included the consideration of the Report of the MSC transmitted to it by the Council, and the decision to convene a conference in March/April 1962 to deal with proposals for amendment of the 1954 Convention on Pollution of the Sea by Oil with a view to expanding the scope and augmenting the effectiveness of international cooperation in control over pollution. The Report of the MSC was approved and the Council agreed to accept the responsibilities placed on IMCO by the International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea, 1960, and the revised International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea. In connection therewith it established a Subcommittee on Subdivision and Stability and a Working Group on the Carriage of Dangerous Goods by Sea. It also agreed to arrangements for cooperation through a Joint Working Group with the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) (see page 239), the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) (see page 240), and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) (see page 244) on common problems relating to safety at sea and in the air. Further, the Assembly adopted reports submitted by the Council on the Facilitation

of Travel and Transport, agreed to participation by IMCO in the U.N. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (ETAP), made certain amendments to IMCO Financial Regulations, approved a set of Rules and Practices relative to the Grant of Consultative Status to Non-Governmental International Organizations, approved an expanded work program for the organization as well as a provisional staffing pattern and a 2-year (1962–1963) budget of $892,000. It was agreed that the third Assembly session would be held in London in the fall of 1963.

The Maritime Safety Committee, which is concerned with all technical matters connected with safety of life at sea, held its fourth session on April 14, 1961. The only action taken at this session was the election of a Chairman and a Vice Chairman.

World Meteorological Organization (WMO)

The United States during 1961 took a leading role in the regular activities of the World Meteorological Organization (WMO). Of its 16 constituent bodies, each of which normally meet once each 4 years, three held sessions during 1961. The United States was represented at all of these sessions as well as at many other meetings of permanent commissions, small specialized working groups and panels of experts. The Chief of the U.S. Weather Bureau, Dr. F. W. Reichelderfer, is a member of the WMO Executive Committee by virtue of holding the Presidency of the Regional Association for North and Central America, one of the Organization's six regional associations.

Of the many important activities of the World Meteorological Organization during 1961, the most dramatic was in the field of meteorological satellites. In this connection, the Executive Committee (which is the only WMO body required to meet annually, and which performs the executive and management functions of the Organization), examined in May the report of the second meeting of the Panel of Experts on Artificial Satellites. It accepted the Panel's preliminary recommendations for the future use of satellites for day-to-day observing and forecasting and also for research. The United States is already cooperating with the WMO with respect to a preliminary operational program. The Executive Committee also recognized the great potential value of communications satellites for the rapid exchange of synoptic meteorological information and asked the Panel of Experts to keep advances in the field under continuing review.

The question of weather satellites became even more urgent in December 1961 when the 16th U.N. General Assembly, on the initiative of the United States, unanimously adopted a resolution on outer space (res. 1721 (XVI)). Among other things, this resolution calls

for the WMO, in cooperation with UNESCO and the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU), to study measures to advance the state of atmospheric science and to develop existing weather forecasting capabilities. Immediately upon the passage of this U.N. resolution the President and the Secretary General of WMO initiated action for the convening of a panel of experts (on which the United States is represented), and coordinated as appropriate with other interested international organizations.

In addition to the previously noted action of the Executive Committee in the area of meteorological satellites, it also approved the program for the International Geophysical Calendar for 1961. This was a worldwide coordination of observations and analysis of geophysical phenomena with special days set aside for expanded scientific programs.

The newly organized Commission for Hydrological Meteorology met in Washington, D.C., in April 1961. This Commission studied the field of hydrological meteorology and established a work program for the following 4 years. The program includes improvement in the flood warning systems for international river basins. At the conclusion of the session, M. A. Kohler of the U.S. Weather Bureau was elected President for the following 4 years.

The Commission for Aerology held its third session in Rome in September and October 1961. The activities of the Commission range through many of the major branches of physics and dynamics of the atmosphere, embracing numerical methods of weather analysis and forecasting, shortwave radio propagation, atmospheric chemistry, including ozone, nuclear radiation, long-range weather forecasting, and weather modification. The Commission proposed research programs in all the above fields. Dr. George P. Cressman of the U.S. Weather Bureau was elected President of the Commission for the following 4 years.

WMO expanded its assistance to the Congo by providing a team of experts to operate the essential meteorological services (see page 259). The Organization also assisted in the planning stages of the International Indian Ocean Expedition (see page 289), a technical meteorological research and development program utilizing increased network facilities in which the United States is actively participating.

In 1961 WMO cooperated with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) by organizing the collection of rainfall samples. IAEA arranges for the analysis of these samples for tritium. As a result of a resolution adopted by the 16th General Assembly in December (res. 1629 (XVI)), WMO is now studying, in consultation with IAEA, the feasibility of extending the present meteorological reporting system to include measurements of atmospheric radio activity.

UNITED NATIONS TECHNICAL COOPERATION PROGRAMS

United Nations technical cooperation programs have grown during the last decade and a half from a relatively small number of uncoordinated services concerned with the rehabilitation of war-torn Europe to major global programs which are playing a vital role in the economic and social development of most of the less developed countries. It is expected that the U.N. Decade of Development as designated in a resolution adopted by the 16th General Assembly (see page 204) will give further impetus to these programs, and that they will continue to inspire the confidence of and requests for assistance by interested governments on an expanding scale. The programs comprise a variety of different agencies and funds, but the United Nations Technical Cooperation Programs are generally considered to comprise the United Nations Regular Programs (financed under the regularly assessed budget): the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance—ETAP (primarily comprising experts and fellowships financed from special voluntary contributions); and the Special Fund, (which finances large-scale "pre-investment" projects with funds also made available through special voluntary contributions). A spectacular example of how the various kinds of U.N. economic and social programs can be coordinated in a vital nation-building effort was demonstrated during 1961 in the Congo. Another development in the U.N. technical assistance area during 1961 was the authorization of the use of volunteer technical personnel in the operation of programs of the U.N. system.

United Nations Regular Programs

Technical cooperation programs paid for under the regular U.N. budget are generally called the "United Nations Regular Programs." These include separate technical assistance programs (each financed by special appropriations) in the fields of economic development and public administration and programs in advisory social welfare services, narcotics control, and human rights (see pages 277, 281, 298).

Economic Development

Technical assistance in the broad field of economic development has been extended by the United Nations on a growing scale since its permanent authorization by the General Assembly in 1949. At the present time specific subjects covered under this authorization include general economic surveys, advice on the formulation and implementation of economic policies relating to development, techniques of eco-

nomic planning and programing, administrative arrangements for the making and implementation of economic plans, natural and mineral resources development, and transportation. During 1961 there was special emphasis on development planning. Several seminars were organized under U.N. auspices on special problems of economic development and various services were rendered to promote the exchange of current information relating to technical problems concerning economic development. Whereas in recent years the sum set aside for this program amounted to some $480,000 annually, $1,125,000 was appropriated in this area for 1961. Most of the increased funds were programed for projects to assist the newly independent African countries. During 1961 a total of 104 experts were sent under these programs to 27 countries, and 201 fellowships were awarded to individuals from 68 countries and other political entities.

Public Administration

As early as 1948 the Economic and Social Council requested the Secretary-General to study international facilities for the promotion of training in public administration, and a U.N. program of technical assistance in this field was placed on a continuing basis by the General Assembly in January 1952. At the present time specific subjects covered under this authorization include projects envisaging the reorganization of administration within recipient governments to meet the needs of economic and social development, transition from older to more modern systems of administration, analysis of general administrative problems, basic governmental organization, training for the public service, personnel administration, problems of public corporations and autonomous enterprises, local administration, customs administration, and police administration.

In the light of the general U.N. emphasis on economic development, considerable stress has been put recently on relationships between budgetary management and development programing in an effort to link more clearly budget expenditure with overall purposes and objectives. Illustrative of this approach was the Budget Workshop in Africa which took place in September 1961, attended by 39 experts from 19 countries. Comparable workshops have also been held in the Far East and in Latin America. During 1961 a total of 55 experts were sent under the public administration programs to 13 countries, and 154 fellowships were awarded to individuals from 47 countries and other political entities.

Operational and Executive Personnel (OPEX)

The provision of operational and executive personnel (OPEX) to less developed countries at their request as integral operative parts of

host countries' administrative machinery was instituted by the United Nations as an experimental program in public administration in 1958. It continued on this basis until it was established by the 15th General Assembly on a permanent and enlarged basis effective in 1960.

Under the program highly competent and experienced individuals are recruited by the United Nations and assigned to senior positions in which they administer national services as employees of the requesting governments and help train national personnel in the managerial tasks which they themselves temporarily perform.

From the inception of the program to September 1961, the United Nations accepted for consideration a total of 220 requests. By September 1961 three officers had completed their assignments and 27 were in the field. Altogether 80 posts had been established and interested governments were at an advanced stage of negotiation concerning another seven.

During 1959 the OPEX program was funded with $200,000; during 1960, with $300,000; and a sum of $850,000 was allocated for expenditure in 1961.

The Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (ETAP)

The Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (ETAP) was created in 1949, in response to a U.S. initiative paralleling the inauguration of the Point IV bilateral programs. In essence it provided for a special operating unit within the U.N. Secretariat which would administer additional technical assistance resources made available to executing agencies under the supervision of special interagency and intergovernment bodies. ETAP has steadily grown in scope and significance since its first projects were started in 1950, and has provided a means for enlarging and bringing a measure of coordination to technical assistance efforts of the U.N. system.

Technical Assistance Board (TAB)

Responsibility for coordinating the ETAP program, assuring its implementation, reporting on it, and recommending policy rests with the Technical Assistance Board (TAB). This body comprises the executive heads of the participating organizations or their representatives under an Executive Chairman, who also heads the TAB Secretariat at U.N. Headquarters. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) participate in TAB meetings, thus providing a measure of coordination with their programs, but do not receive allotment from ETAP funds.

Technical Assistance Committee (TAC)

Basic policy responsibility for ETAP rests with the Technical Assistance Committee (TAC) of the Economic and Social Council. Through 1961 this body comprised the 18 members of the Council and six additional members elected by the Council from among members of the United Nations and its related agencies. In order to permit participation of a larger number of the expanded membership of the United Nations, the 32d session of the Economic and Social Council decided to enlarge TAC to a total of 30 members. TAC receives and reviews TAB reports and reviews the ETAP program at least twice a year. It reports to the Economic and Social Council which in turn reports to the General Assembly.

Funds for ETAP

ETAP operations are financed from voluntary contributions by governments which are members of the United Nations and/or its related agencies. Contributions are announced at an annual pledging conference (at which contributions to the Special Fund are also announced) held at U.N. Headquarters in New York in the last quarter of the year during the session of the General Assembly. Total program costs for 1961 amounted to $38,106,500 ($31,284,500 in project costs and $6,822,000 in administrative and operational services costs), as contrasted with total program costs for 1960 of $34,413,000 ($27,913,000 in project costs and $6,500,000 in administrative and operational services costs). The United States limits its contribution to 40 percent of the total contributions, and in 1961 this amounted to approximately $17.8 million. The announced target for ETAP's 1962 program is $50 million. Beginning in 1961 contributions of governments toward local costs of experts provided them were to be on the basis of an assessment of 12½ percent of the total costs of services provided them under ETAP.

Country Programing

Since 1954 ETAP procedures have provided for receiving countries to determine their own priority preferences. The "Category I" (or basic) program is based on a country target (a specified amount) communicated to the receiving government through the Resident Representative in the spring of the year preceding the year programed. During the 3 months following, governments prepare their requests in consultation with the representatives of the participating organizations. They are encouraged to relate their requests to their own overall economic development plans. The requests are transmitted through the representatives to TAB. Prior to 1961 the country targets

specified "agency subtotals" to indicate the breakdown of proposed allocations among the participating organizations. Elimination of these subtotals in 1961 permits more flexibility to the receiving governments in determining their priorities.

A "Category II" program is also framed as a reserve list to include projects which would also be desirable if additional funds become available, or to utilize any savings that may occur in the implementation of Category I projects. The proposed Category II program involves no more than 50 percent of the costs of the Category I program.

Two-Year Programing Cycle

Through 1960 ETAP funds were programed on an annual basis, but in the summer of 1959 ECOSOC authorized an experimental change in the program planning procedure from an annual to a biennial basis for the years 1961–62. The change was intended to permit improved advanced planning and increased efficiency in keeping with the expanded scope of the program. A total amount of $81,460,000 was programed for the 1961–62 period. At the end of the half-way mark at the end of 1961, the first biennial plan appeared to have justified the experiment. The Economic and Social Council agreed in 1961 to extend the experiment by authorizing the 1963–64 program to be prepared on a biennial basis, providing that the 2-year programing procedures be reviewed further by TAC and ECOSOC in the summer of 1963.

Project Programing

As an extension of the principles underlying the experimental authorization of the 2-year programing cycle, ECOSOC in 1961 took steps to develop a system of "project programming" to become effective in 1963. Project Programing contemplates a comprehensive, long-range scheme of assistance for resolving a broad problem in government operation and will supplement the traditional ETAP services of individual experts on assignments limited in time and scope. Experience in the technical assistance field has shown that many problem areas in which assistance is requested cannot be adequately served on an annual or even a biennial basis, but require assistance over a period of years, and usually require assistance of different types. Under the traditional ETAP services, neither the United Nations nor requesting governments could undertake efficient, long-range planning, since they lacked the certainty that such plans could continue beyond an immediate budgetary period. TAB's report to TAC in the summer of 1961 included detailed recommendations for procedures which should govern project programing. These recommended procedures were in general accepted. They envisaged "project programming" for "long-

range projects" (those requiring more than 24 months to be accomplished), but would also allow the more familiar types of ETAP projects to continue. It is expected that Project Programing, which will require the Resident Representative (see page 258) to play an important role, will bring about a closer integration of activities at the country level among the representatives of the participating organizations.

Important Aspects of 1961 Program

Training

Recognizing the crucial importance of developing human resources, ETAP has increasingly placed special emphasis on education and training in all areas of its activities. In a special report to TAC during 1961, TAB reviewed the training institutes and centers which had been established or assisted under ETAP since its inception. The report showed that 95 national and 24 regional or interregional institutes of a long-term character and 22 additional short-term centers had been assisted by ETAP. Of a total cost of about $65 million, host governments and other sources bore almost two-thirds of the costs of these centers, with ETAP meeting the rest of them. Approximately 30,000 individuals had been trained by 85 institutes and centers. These figures show that a substantially larger number of individuals have received training through ETAP resources than have been awarded fellowships.

Decentralization

In accordance with a trend toward decentralization, certain U.N. economic and social work has been referred to the regional economic commissions. In accordance with a TAC resolution, the Executive Chairman during 1961 invited the Executive Secretary of each regional economic commission to present his views on economic and social factors which should be taken into account in the preparation of ETAP technical cooperation programs in his region. In view of their concern with the development plans of countries in their regions and being increasingly in a position to advise governments on their plans, the regional commissions were believed to have views which could be helpful in the preparation of ETAP programs at an early stage. The Executive Chairman is to report on the replies to TAC in the summer of 1962. Also during 1961 TAB began arranging a series of meetings with the staffs of the commissions and the Resident Representatives in the corresponding regions to insure maximum cooperation among interested elements of the U.N. system in the preparation of ETAP programs. The first of these meetings took place with the Economic

Commission for Latin America (ECLA) Secretariat late in 1961, and similar meetings were to be held early in 1962 with the Economic Commission for the Far East (ECAFE) Secretariat in Bangkok and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) Secretariat in Addis Ababa.

Africa

In 1956 programs in Africa accounted for only 8.9 percent of ETAP resources, a percentage which rose to 15.3 percent in 1960. The program planned for African countries during the 1961–62 period amounted to 30.6 percent of the total program. The increase in the percentage of resources allocated to African programs is especially significant in view of the very large increase in the total ETAP resources during these years. Because of the higher pledged contributions these increased percentages were possible without reducing in absolute terms the programs in other areas.

Statistical Summary

During 1961, 2,381 experts were assigned to 109 countries and other political entities, 2,029 fellowships were awarded to individuals from 114 countries and other political entities, and equipment and supplies (mainly for demonstration purposes) valued at $3,752,000 were provided. These figures represent increases above the comparable data for 1960, when 2,207 experts were assigned, 2,017 fellowships were awarded, and the value of equipment supplied amounted to $1,385,000.

Obligations incurred in 1961 for the programs of the participating organizations were as follows:

Participating Organization	*1961 Obligations*
UNTA	$7,097,409
ILO	3,562,726
FAO	9,238,960
UNESCO	6,113,539
ICAO	1,612,925
WHO	6,279,331
ITU	537,709
WMO	513,940
IAEA	450,190
Total	35,406,729
TAB Secretariat and Field Posts	2,699,772
Grand Total	38,106,501

The regional distribution of field program costs is shown on page 253 (excluding operational services and administrative costs of the program).

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF FIELD PROGRAM COSTS

Year	Africa	Asia and Far East	Europe	Latin America	Middle East	Interregional
1950–51	$442, 000	$1, 436, 600	$167, 000	$1, 183, 000	$939, 000	$348, 000
1952	1, 347, 000	5, 936, 000	1, 939, 000	4, 914, 000	4, 375, 000	288, 000
1953	1, 497, 000	5, 718, 000	1, 556, 000	4, 793, 000	3, 535, 000	719, 000
1954	1, 279, 000	4, 651, 000	1, 500, 000	3, 920, 000	3, 253, 000	509, 000
1955	1, 799, 000	6, 647, 000	1, 708, 000	5, 624, 000	4, 671, 000	861, 000
1956	2, 244, 000	8, 240, 000	1, 726, 000	7, 298, 000	4, 958, 000	856, 000
1957	2, 915, 000	8, 416, 000	1, 856, 000	7, 215, 000	4, 953, 000	437, 000
1958	3, 387, 000	9, 647, 000	1, 744, 000	7, 543, 000	4, 987, 000	404, 000
1959	3, 746, 000	9, 192, 000	1, 686, 000	6, 911, 000	4, 631, 000	369, 000
1960	4, 278, 000	9, 285, 000	1, 660, 000	7, 223, 000	4, 977, 000	499, 000
1961–62 (planned)	20, 088, 000	19, 371, 000	3, 688, 000	15, 599, 000	10, 760, 000	1, 477, 000

Special Fund

The Special Fund which began operations during 1959 was created late in 1958 to provide a new dimension in U.N. technical assistance programs. It has been regarded as a bridge between the many relatively small-scale advisory and training projects offered under the regular programs and ETAP and the provision of development capital by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and its affiliates and similar institutions. The Special Fund is more than a technical assistance program in the traditional sense but it does not itself make cash loans or grants for developmental purposes *per se*. It was established to provide for projects that might be too large in scope for ETAP and to facilitate new capital investment by showing the development possibilities of natural resources, by training local people in the knowledge and skills required to make resources productive, and by strengthening institutions in those countries concerned with the management of strategically important development activities.

Resources of the Special Fund

The Special Fund's operations are financed from two main sources. Its own funds are provided by the voluntary contributions pledged for the Special Fund, at the annual conference at which contributions for ETAP are also pledged (see page 249). The United States limits its contributions to 40 percent of the total contributions, and in 1961 this amounted to approximately $20 million. Pledges for Special Fund programs to date amounted to $26 million in 1959, $39 million in 1960, nearly $47 million for 1961, and about $56 million for 1962. The Managing Director of the Special Fund, Paul Hoffman, has announced that if sufficient contributions are forthcoming he would recommend a program requiring Special Fund allocations of $85 million to $87 million during 1962, and that he hopes to see the realization of a $100 million program by 1963. In addition to Special Fund allocations, local cost contributions are made to the projects by requesting governments. Recipient governments have on the average contributed nearly 60 percent of total project costs. In fact this strict criterion of partnership between the Special Fund and the recipient government is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Special Fund program, and has provided a significant impetus toward self-help.

Types of Assistance

Generally speaking the Special Fund endeavors to assist in the implementation of projects which will contribute substantially and relatively quickly to development, especially in the strategic areas of production and productivity. They are often called "preinvestment"

projects because they are generally designed to focus attention on and make feasible specific areas in which profitable investment might be developed. The projects generally have focused on the identification of physical resources and the training of human resources as crucial elements of the development process. The following examples illustrate the work of the Special Fund: (1) a project in Ghana to survey the Lower Volta Flood Plain to determine if the topographic, soil, agronomic, and other conditions exist for the large-scale growing of crops, especially under irrigation, and to determine the cost of irrigation and drainage for areas selected for development; (2) a project in Colombia to provide internationally recruited experts and to supply locally unavailable equipment and machine tools for a new National Instructors Training Center in Bogotá; and (3) a project in India to assist the new Central Mechanical Engineering Research Institute to enable it to serve India's growing mechanical engineering industry through applied research, design development and testing facilities.

Projects in the Field of Development Planning

As an extension of the interest in development which has characterized its work from the beginning, the Special Fund in 1961 became directly concerned with projects intended to assist the development planning process itself. The Managing Director has stated that he considers these projects of particular importance. Such projects are also in line with a critical element of the new U.S. approach to aid. The general purpose of these projects will be to strengthen the ability of development planners to channel available resources to those areas which are likely to produce the greatest overall effects in stimulating balanced economic and social growth. The Special Fund also in 1961 began consideration of the establishment of an autonomous institute related to the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA). This institute would assist Latin American governments by providing training and advisory services in economic development.

Financial Service

During 1961 attention was given to the problem of alerting governments to the existence of resources which might be available to them to assure sound implementation of the kinds of investment envisaged by completed Special Fund projects. In this connection the resolutions relating to the U.N. Decade of Development proposed that the Special Fund consider the establishment of a financial advisory service. This would enable the Special Fund to provide through Resident Representatives (see page 258) detailed information regard-

ing potential public, private, national, regional, and international sources of development capital and the processes, rules, regulations, and preferences of capital suppliers. This proposal will be considered by the Governing Council in 1962.

Statistical Summary

The sixth session of the Governing Council of the Special Fund met on May 23, 24, 26 and June 1, 1961. At this session 42 projects were approved, involving total costs of $77,412,800, including Special Fund allocations of $34,643,600. This brought to a total of 157 approved Special Fund projects (including 150 projects in 61 countries and territories, and 7 regional and interregional projects, in which 27 additional countries are participating), involving total costs of $305 million, including Special Fund allocations of $130 million. The approved projects provide for 67 resource surveys, 59 training and technical education institutes, and 31 applied research institutes. Two projects have been completed (the Argentine Power Survey and the Niger River Basin Dam Survey), both of which were undertaken by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. By the end of 1961, 70 projects were in various stages of execution, and work on 28 of these was well advanced.

The distribution by geographic areas of approved projects through 1961 by the Special Fund is given below:

Geographical Area	*Number*	*Allocations*
Africa	38	$28, 461, 700
The Americas	46	38, 652, 500
Asia and the Far East	43	38, 474, 500
Europe	6	4, 300, 900
Middle East	23	16, 782, 400
Interregional	1	3, 866, 000
Total	157	$130, 538, 000

The distribution by executing agency of projects approved through 1961 by the Special Fund is given below:

Executing Agency	*Number of Projects*	*Allocations*
UN	23	$19, 600, 000
ILO	20	15, 700, 000
FAO	65	50, 400, 000
UNESCO	25	27, 600, 000
ICAO	6	6, 000, 000
IBRD	8	5, 500, 000
WMO	4	2, 200, 000
ITU	4	2, 700, 000
WHO	2	800, 000
Total	157	$130, 500, 000

Coordination of Technical Cooperation Programs

Although there are a multiplicity of agencies, commissions, and programs within the U.N. system which participate in technical cooperation programs, they are generally involved in a common attack on the problems of underdevelopment on a broad front. The system has made spectacular strides from the early postwar period of preoccupation with the gathering and dissemination of information to a greater concern with practical operations related to development in all continents. Whereas the earlier operations were mainly developed on an *ad hoc* basis to confront emergency situations, there are now substantial organizations and established procedures for coping with the long-term development problems of the low income countries. Where there were once a series of separate and often uncoordinated undertakings, there has been steady progress toward bringing the various elements of the U.N. system together. In fact, in the field, the representatives of a particular agency tend to make only an administrative distinction between programs financed under their regular budgets and the programs financed by the U.N. programs. In particular the cooperation between ETAP and the Special Fund is generally considered to be excellent, at headquarters and in the field. Also there has continued to be reciprocal understanding and cooperation between the representatives of the U.N. programs and the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) both at headquarters and in the field.

Nevertheless, there is general recognition that there is need to further strengthen the tendency of the U.N. system to become more closely integrated with regard to its various technical cooperation programs. This need is related to the clear need of the less developed countries to receive maximum benefit from the limited international resources available for developmental purposes. The U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, Harlan Cleveland, summarized the need in a statement before TAC in July 1961. In this statement he referred to the shared responsibility of the U.N. system of organizations calling for the closest possible coordination and joint action by the Special Fund and ETAP, such U.N. bodies as the UNTAO and the regional economic commissions, and the Specialized Agencies, including the IBRD and IDA. He also said that "in each developing country the U.N. family of agencies should be better coordinated to help governments with their task of sorting out priorities, relating those priorities to the resources available from home and abroad, and generally constructing workable country development plans."

Stimulated by Mr. Cleveland's statement, the 32d session of ECOSOC authorized the establishment of an *Ad Hoc* Committee of Eight to study further steps which may be needed (1) to organize

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the technical cooperation activities of the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies, IAEA, and the Special Fund so as to provide greater aid to member governments, on their request, in the preparation of country development programs, it being understood that the preparation of such national programs, their implementation and coordination, was the prerogative of the governments concerned, (2) to bring about a closer coordination, whenever possible, of the technical cooperation and pre-investment activities of the United Nations, the Specialized Agencies, IAEA, and the Special Fund, with the object of advancing the achievement of country development objectives; and (3) to assist member states by producing technical cooperation services which would be most conducive to their national development. The Committee is also to explore ways and means of bringing about in developing countries a closer relationship within the U.N. family of agencies, giving special attention to the potential role of the Resident Representatives, in order to provide more concerted advice to countries that request it on the technical preparation and implementation of country programs and on the technical aspects of individual parts of such programs. The traditional duties of the Resident Representatives include responsibility for assisting governments in drawing up their annual program requests for ETAP. They also render administrative services to the United Nations and related agency experts, help in the implementation of fellowship programs, undertake evaluation studies in consultation with governments, and report quarterly to the Executive Chairman of TAB on the progress of ETAP activities in their respective countries of assignment. They are also recognized as Directors of Special Fund programs in their respective countries.

The Committee of Eight is to report to ECOSOC, which will also have before it any comments TAC and the Governing Council of the Special Fund may make on the Committee's report and recommendations.

United Nations Economic and Social Operations in the Congo

The potential of the U.N. system to mount and operate a large scale, well integrated economic and social operation was impressively demonstrated in an unprecedented undertaking in the Congo during 1961.

The U.N. Operation in the Congo (ONUC) (see p. 59) was mobilized during the latter half of 1960 by the Secretary-General in accordance with Security Council resolutions adopted July 14 and 22, 1960. The latter resolution invited the Specialized Agencies "to render to the Secretary General such assistance as he may require" in the Congo. ONUC is a unified structure, back-stopped at U.N. Headquarters. At the end of 1961 the team comprised more than 400

officers from more than 30 countries, and had different sections concerned with agriculture, communications, education, finance, health, judicature, labor, natural resources and industry, public administration, public works, radio broadcasting, and social affairs. The largest of these sections, health and communications, consists of more than 100 officers each. The experts in such fields as agriculture, education, health, labor, and communications are provided by the Specialized Agencies (FAO, UNESCO, WHO, ILO, ICAO, WMO, ITU), and the others are supplied by the United Nations itself. Each group has a "consultative" relationship with the appropriate Ministry of the Congolese Government. A number of advisers have been detailed for short-term (most frequently 3 months) assignments.

The Secretary-General was able to devise and implement this ambitious program because of the funds which were granted him for the purpose. All posts are approved by the Secretary-General, even though filled by representatives of the Specialized Agencies, and are financed from the special United Nations Fund for the Congo. (In addition the Specialized Agencies have financed technical assistance programs in the Congo from their own budgets.)

As of December 31, 1961, 14 governments had contributed a total of $34,023,489 to the U.N. Fund for the Congo to be used exclusively for economic and social programs. The U.S. contribution of $22,950,000 represented 67 percent of the total amount.

Volunteer Technical Personnel

In another extension of traditional U.N. technical assistance programs, the 32d session of ECOSOC authorized the use of Volunteer Technical Personnel in the technical assistance activities of the United Nations and invited related U.N. agencies also to consider the use of such personnel. Conditions which would govern the use and assignment of volunteer personnel were specified. The Government providing personnel was to be responsible for all identifiable costs, including maintenance allowances, insurance, and costs of transportation to the place of assignment. The initiative underlying this ECOSOC action was exerted by the U.S. Government as a parallel to its establishment of the Peace Corps.

In proposing that the United Nations accept such personnel, the U.S. Government circulated a memorandum among members of ECOSOC which referred to the need for voluntary services by people willing to live simply with the people of the host countries while serving on minimum living allowances.

The memorandum indicated that possible areas in which volunteers could be placed might include the following: U.N.-sponsored development of statistical services and U.N. programs of community

development; UNESCO's education program; ILO's manpower training programs; WHO's malaria eradication and sanitation projects; and FAO's agricultural extension work and its fight against animal diseases.

It is expected that under this program, U.S. Peace Corps volunteers will be assigned during 1962 to the FAO and possibly the UNTA, ICAO, and UNESCO. Several other governments have also indicated that they might be able to supply volunteer personnel under these or similar arrangements.

DEVELOPMENTS IN WORLD SOCIAL SITUATION

Social development covers a broad spectrum of activities in health and nutrition, labor standards, education, vocational training, housing and urban development, and social welfare. Programs in this area are carried out by a number of U.N. organs: such Specialized Agencies as the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), and the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); the U.N. Secretariat, the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The broad range of social policy and programs are considered by the Social Commission, the Economic and Social Council, and by the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee of the General Assembly. Specific aspects of social policy are the concern of the Population Commission, the Human Rights Commission, the Commission on the Status of Women, and the Narcotic Drugs Commission. In addition, the regional economic commissions have in recent years expanded their function to include social as well as economic development.

In response to a resolution passed in 1957 by the General Assembly, the Social Commission and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), in cooperation with the Specialized Agencies, began intensive efforts to promote planning for balanced economic and social development. In the past few years the Commission and the Council, with the help of studies prepared by the U.N. Secretariat, have devoted themselves to identifying the problem and the obstacles to the achievement of balanced economic and social development and have studied the experiences of various countries in this regard. In 1961 the U.N. Secretariat published case studies of the experience of Burma, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Puerto Rico, and the Uzbek Republic of the Soviet Union. Studies of a number of other countries are underway. In addition, the 1961 edition of "Report on the World Social Situation" focuses primarily on a discussion and analysis of the various aspects of balanced economic and

social development. Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson in the principal U.S. speech to the 32d session of ECOSOC, stressed as his theme the goal of human welfare as the reason for all economic development.

Among the major trends noted in the 1961 Report is the increase of population growth at a more rapid rate than had been forecast. It equals almost 2 percent a year for the world as a whole, and in 1961 world population increased to over 3 billion. The highest growth rates continue to be found mainly in regions with low per capita incomes and with the most serious deficiencies in health, food supplies, education, housing, and social services. In the developed countries the standard of living rose but in the underdeveloped countries progress was uneven. The Report notes that the steadiest advances were made in the field of health, particularly in the conquest of mass disease. Some progress was also achieved in education, and the proportion of children in school has risen. Nevertheless, it remains true that about 40 percent of all the school-age children in the world are not in school, and in many countries the proportion is 80 percent or more. Limited improvement was noted in food production but the progress made has been insufficient to remedy existing food deficiencies for a majority of the families in many countries.

The final chapter of the Report considered methods of integrating economic and social programs, techniques of planning that bring economic and social considerations together, and administrative arrangements for coordinating economic and social development. The need for further studies of the methodology of social planning in relation to economic planning was emphasized.

The Social Commission and the Economic and Social Council both considered this Report during their meetings in 1961. The Council has drawn the attention of governments to the availability of the Report and to its usefulness as a guide in policy development, as well as to the value of the assistance given through the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies in carrying out the social surveys basic to determining development needs.

Among the action programs in the social field, recommended by the Social Commission and approved by the Council in 1961, was a new long-range program of concerted action on problems of urbanization in addition to the already approved programs of concerted action in community development and low-cost housing. Indicating its awareness of the growing concentration of population in urban areas and the nature and scope of social and economic problems which accompany urbanization and industrialization, the Council recommended that governments, in consultation with the United Nations, including the regional economic commissions and the Specialized Agencies, consider formulating national policies on urbanization and that they take

appropriate action in a variety of ways to help solve the problems which urbanization brings. In addition, the Council decided to convene an *ad hoc* group of experts on housing and urban development to advise the Social Commission and to prepare recommendations for advancing low-cost housing and urban development.

The work of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies in the social field is described in some detail in the succeeding sections. In closing this brief summary, however, mention must be made of the need for strengthening the work of the United Nations in the social field. In its consideration of this problem during 1961, the Social Commission and the Economic and Social Council recognized the need for more continuity at the intergovernmental level in the planning and coordinating of social policies and programs. It was considered essential, and the 16th General Assembly fully endorsed the position that further action be taken to strengthen the work of the United Nations in the social field and the Social Commission's role in the fields of broad social policy development, social research, and work programs designed to promote social progress. In furtherance of this objective, the Economic and Social Council decided that the Social Commission will meet annually instead of biennially and that at its next session it will reappraise the basic direction of its activities with a view to giving increased attention to questions of social policy. In further recognition of the close relationship between economic and social aspects of development, the Council indicated the desirability of a combined debate on world economic trends and the world social situation at its forthcoming meeting in 1962. Recommendations for strengthening the staff of the U.N. Secretariat's Bureau of Social Affairs in order to help implement the various decisions taken by the Social Commission and the Economic and Social Council have unfortunately not been fully met; the matter will undoubtedly be given further consideration in 1962.

World Health Organization (WHO)

"The attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health" is declared by article I of its Constitution to be the objective of the World Health Organization (WHO). In 1961, in furtherance of this objective, WHO continued and expanded its programs of malaria eradication, communicable disease control, environmental sanitation, radiological health, and education and training. Emergency assistance to the Congo was reinforced, and the importance of aid to newly independent states was affirmed.

The United States continued its strong support of the Organization's work, making voluntary financial contributions for the malaria

eradication, medical research and community water supply programs, and supplying many of the personnel to serve on expert advisory panels and as consultants on special projects.

Malaria Eradication

With the decision of the World Health Assembly (annual conference of WHO member governments) in 1955, the worldwide effort to eradicate malaria began. This is the largest cooperative public health campaign in history. In 1961 it was going forward in 67 countries where 764 million people live. The campaign in India alone involved more than 60,000 spraymen and other personnel. An estimated 305 million people in 39 countries are living in areas from which the disease is reported to have been eradicated. This represents an increase over the previous year of nearly 7 million people living in malaria-free areas. Since 1955 the annual number of people suffering from malaria has dropped from an estimated 250 million to 140 million. Still, more than one million deaths result each year from this disease, resulting in a serious retardation of agricultural output and economic and social development.

The major contributions to the malaria eradication program are made by the participating governments themselves, with WHO providing mainly personnel, training, and research. The U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF) (see page 271) and the United States, through the International Cooperation Administration (now the Agency for International Development), have provided principally supplies and equipment. In 1961 the World Health Assembly decided to integrate into its regular, assessed budget, over a 3-year period, the financing of its malaria eradication program. Previously this financing had come primarily from voluntary contributions to a Malaria Eradication Special Account. About 90 percent or $23 million of this Special Account (including a similar Special Malaria Account for the Americas) had been contributed by the United States.

Communicable Diseases

In addition to malaria, WHO seeks to attack numerous communicable diseases. For example, WHO-assisted mobile X-ray teams examined some 5,000 persons a week in a tuberculosis control project in Tunisia. An Expert Committee was convened to consider the practical application of advances in the control of trachoma, a widespread eye disease whose causal agent had been isolated in an important breakthrough after 50 years of research. In 1961 there was a significant increase in WHO assistance to member states for the control of yaws, smallpox, leprosy, and various parasitic diseases. For instance, vac-

cine was supplied to India to aid in a mass campaign against smallpox. In addition, WHO's research efforts were intensified on virus diseases and bilharziasis (a disease due to a parasitic blood fluke).

A major means of counteracting the spread of communicable diseases is through the implementation of the International Sanitary Regulations. Daily radio bulletins are broadcast from WHO headquarters in Geneva, and a *Weekly Epidemiological Record* is published. The Committee on International Quarantine gave special attention at its 1961 meeting to methods of disinfecting aircraft.

Environmental Sanitation

WHO has been giving increasing attention to the provision and improvement of community water supplies, sending engineers and consultants to various member nations at their request to advise on water supply and sewage disposal problems. Air and water pollution problems have also been receiving more emphasis. In 1961 the first meeting of the Expert Committee on Public Health Aspects of Housing was held, indicative of WHO's interest in the relationship between environmental health and social and economic development.

Radiological Health

The public health aspects of radiation has been the subject of growing concern. During 1961 WHO assisted training courses in the medical use of radioisotopes, and it supported a number of intercountry training courses on radiation protection. It also assisted the Government of India in framing legislation and regulations designed to secure protection against radiation hazards.

Education and Training

WHO places a high priority on the training of health personnel as essential for the creation or strengthening of public health services. Its assistance to governments includes the award of fellowships, aid to schools of medicine or public health, and sponsorship of conferences, seminars, or specialized training courses.

For example, assistance to the three medical colleges of Bombay, which began in 1959, continued in 1961. The aim of the project is to expand, upgrade, and reorient the teaching of pediatrics. Detailed plans have been developed for turning 10 maternal and child health centers belonging to the Bombay municipality into peripheral child health centers, which in turn are to be linked with the colleges. In this connection, a 20-bed unit for premature babies has been opened.

The World Health Assembly in 1961 requested the WHO Director General to give particular consideration and speedy assistance to the

needs of newly independent states. WHO is helping these countries to create or maintain their health services, surveying their needs in order to establish priorities, and accelerating training programs. In 1961, for example, a tutor was provided for laboratory technician training in Gabon; public health and pediatric nursing tutors for rural health service were made available to Nigeria; and a public health adviser and tutors were supplied for training of auxiliaries in Somalia.

Assistance to the Congo

During 1961 WHO continued its assistance to the Republic of the Congo (Léopoldville). This assistance began immediately following that country's independence in 1960. While working to maintain health and medical services on an emergency basis, the Organization has from the beginning directed its efforts toward a long-range program of technical assistance through advisory services and through education and training programs. By the end of 1961 there were 150 WHO doctors in the country.

In an effort to train Congolese health and medical workers, WHO has provided teaching staff for Lovanium University. The Organization has also set up training courses for auxiliary health workers in maternal and child health work. In order to obtain trained Congolese doctors in the shortest possible time, 60 Congolese medical assistants were granted WHO fellowships to study in France on a 3-year, accelerated program. The encouraging results of their first year have led to the decision to provide 55 additional fellowships in 1961.

Cooperation With Other Organizations

WHO cooperates with other international organizations in many projects. This is particularly true with regard to malaria eradication, tuberculosis control, and environmental sanitation projects concerning which WHO cooperates with UNICEF, and with regard to nutrition programs concerning which it cooperates with both UNICEF and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).

For example, WHO has provided a medical nutritionist and supplies to determine the incidence of deficiency diseases in Basutoland, Africa, and to establish an accurate basis for their diagnosis, prevention, and control. Clinical studies in connection with general nutrition and dietary surveys, completed during this project, showed that nutritional diseases constitute one of the most important public health problems in Basutoland and that a shortage of protein-rich foods is the main cause. Plans have therefore been made to assist jointly

with UNICEF and FAO in a program designed to stimulate agricultural production and to provide training in nutrition.

Central Technical Services

WHO provides a number of central technical services, of benefit to all nations. These include epidemic warnings, international quarantine measures, recommendations concerning international standards for drugs and health statistics, and technical publications.

WHO's extensive publications program has become increasingly important in disseminating the latest technical information throughout the world. Findings of expert advisory panels are published in the WHO Technical Report Series; these reports constitute the most up-to-date body of scientific information in the 38 fields represented by the panels. More than 1,400 health experts throughout the world—about 350 of them from the United States—served on these panels in 1961.

Fourteenth World Health Assembly

The 14th World Health Assembly met at New Delhi February 7–24, 1961, to review the program and budget. The World Health Organization's regular budget for 1961, of which the U.S. share is nearly one-third, came to approximately $19 million. During the course of the Assembly, the U.S. delegation announced voluntary contributions of $500,000 for WHO's medical research program and $175,000 for the water supply program. Eight more countries became members of WHO during 1961, making a total membership of 111, including three associate members.

The United States was one of 12 countries elected to designate a person to serve on the 24-member Executive Board. Dr. H. van Zile Hyde, Assistant to the Surgeon General for International Health, U.S. Public Health Service, was named as the U.S. member.

World Health Day

On April 7 each year, WHO celebrates World Health Day to mark the day on which the WHO Constitution came into effect in 1948.

"Accidents Need Not Happen" was the theme chosen for emphasis on World Health Day 1961. National and local health services throughout the world used this occasion to call attention to the growing number and seriousness of accidents and to urge citizen action in reducing the needless toll of death and disability resulting from accidents of all kinds.

The National Safety Council and the U.S. Public Health Service promoted the U.S. observance of World Health Day, working with state and local organizations of all kinds in marking the celebration.

International Labor Organization

The International Labor Organization (ILO), an organization devoted to the improvement of working conditions and promotion of higher living standards throughout the world, is now in its 43d year. It has continued to grow both in membership and in the scope of its activities. Four new members joined ILO during 1961—Kuwait, Niger, Mauritania, and Sierra Leone. Syria resumed its former membership after separating from the United Arab Republic, bringing total membership to 101 countries. As in recent years, major ILO activities during 1961 continued to include programs of technical assistance and related educational activities, the bringing together of government representatives, employers, and workers to discuss labor and social problems and the publishing of special studies and reports.

The steady growth over the past decade of ILO's technical assistance and educational programs has resulted in these programs becoming ILO's major activity. These programs continued during 1961 to be responsive to the needs of governments, employers, and workers and thus to serve the needs of society as a whole. Vocational training programs have been effective, particularly in countries undergoing industrial development, in training workers in the changing skills required at various levels in industrial occupations and nonmanual employment; they also assist rural workers to develop agricultural or handicraft skills in preparation for employment in small-scale manufacturing operations. Management development programs are promoting the knowledge of sound management principles and techniques, including increasing productivity, and supervisory training. The labor-management relations program is designed to foster a better understanding of industrial relations and methods of cooperation between labor and management. The workers' education program is designed to improve the capacity of the individual worker to participate in the life of his community and to improve his own economic situation. Programs providing basic and advanced training for officials of Ministries of Labor promote more efficient labor administration.

These programs as well as other technical assistance projects requested by governments are contributing materially to that development of human resources necessary for economic growth. At the end of 1961, no less than 230 technical assistance experts were at work in 64 countries and territories, giving assistance on such matters as how to improve training of unskilled workers; conduct manpower surveys; improve safety conditions; increase productivity and efficiency in plant management; and promote the development of handi-

crafts and small-scale manufacturing. These programs are being carried out in most of the developing countries in Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and Africa. Discussions were held among several of the Specialized Agencies with a view to making a joint assessment of educational and technical training needs in Africa. Joint interagency missions, in which ILO will serve as the focal point, are underway to assess such needs on a countrywide basis. The findings of these missions will serve as the basis for planning technical assistance programs.

Since 1951, when ILO began its enlarged technical assistance program in coordination with the U.N. Special Fund (see page 254) and Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (see page 248), over 1,000 experts of 57 nationalities have undertaken more than 1,500 assignments in 84 countries. In addition, thousands of workers and students have been exchanged among ILO member nations for on-the-job training in modern skills and techniques or for courses of study.

A number of meetings were held during the year which brought together representatives of governments, employers, and workers to discuss labor and social conditions as well as solutions to outstanding problems. The major meeting was the annual Conference (45th International Labor Conference) which brought together more than 1,000 delegates and advisers from 94 countries. The Conference adopted a recommendation concerning workers' housing, which called for adequate and decent housing at reasonable cost, and coordination of housing programs with general social and economic policy. The Conference also discussed vocational training, and equality of treatment of nationals and nonnationals in social security, with a view to the adoption of an instrument on these subjects.

Various other meetings were held during the year. The Seventh Conference of American States Members of ILO met at Buenos Aires. Among its accomplishments was the adoption of the Declaration of Buenos Aires, expressing determination of American countries to press for economic and social goals in freedom. A meeting on major mine disasters brought together 16 experts to discuss questions on safety and on accident prevention. The Joint ILO/WHO Committee on Health of Seafarers discussed a plan to coordinate more effectively on an international basis medical and health services for maritime personnel. The Joint Maritime Commission, composed of representatives of shipowners and seafarers, considered more effective means to control radiation hazards and prevention of accidents. A technical meeting on Small-Scale and Handicraft Industries was held to discuss problems of mechanization and management efficiency. Finally, meetings of two industrial committees took place: The Inland Transport Committee, which discussed general

conditions of work of railwaymen and social consequences of changing methods and techniques; and the Committee on Work on Plantations, which discussed questions such as development of a cooperative movement and extension of social security to plantation workers.

Other activities include publication of various studies and reports; establishment, with the participation of the Council of Europe, of the International Vocational Training Information and Research Center to provide information and technical training services on all aspects of vocational training; completion of arrangements to open the International Institute for Labor Studies in 1962; and continued support of regional social security programs in cooperation with the Inter-American Committee on Social Security. Among ILO's publications is a special report entitled *The Cost of Social Security, 1949–1957*, which presents consolidated statements of financial operations of existing social insurance plans, analyzes trends in costs and makes a comparative analysis of a number of plans.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

New Trends in UNICEF Program

1961 marked the beginning of a new trend in the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF) programs with the establishment of policies which will permit increased flexibility in UNICEF's approach to children's problems. When UNICEF was established in 1946, it was an emergency agency, brought into being to provide food and clothing for children in countries devastated by war. In 1950 the emphasis shifted from emergency aid to programs of long-term benefit for children in economically underdeveloped countries. In the following decade, however, the programs supported fell within a rather narrow range of predetermined fields. Though new areas of activity were added from time to time this process of expansion was slow and the total spectrum of programs was not sufficiently broad to meet all countries' needs.

The basis for the changed approach lies in a survey of children's needs, consisting of a series of reports developed by the Specialized Agencies together with surveys undertaken by a number of countries themselves. These reports showed widespread suffering and deprivation of children, but more important for UNICEF, they showed that many countries give high priority to certain measures for child welfare not covered by UNICEF aid policy. The Board, therefore, took the stand that in the future there should be much more flexibility in providing aid. The new trend encourages governments to assess their own needs, incorporate appropriate provisions for the special needs

of children in their plans for social and economic development, and determine priorities for meeting these needs. Requests for types of aid new to UNICEF will evolve from this approach and will be welcomed by UNICEF. Emphasis on preparing the child for life will require aid in meeting his intellectual, vocational, and emotional needs as well as his physical requirements. This new emphasis is expected to emerge gradually and not at the expense of types of aid which have already been successful. Funds to meet these new responsibilities are expected to come from the expanding resources of the Fund, from a change in policy providing for faster disbursement of available funds, and, in the more distant future, from the completion of UNICEF's part in certain endeavors such as malaria eradication.

UNICEF's new approach, in stimulating and encouraging countries to make surveys of their children's needs and plan programs designed to meet these needs whenever possible as an integral part of broader economic and social development, was the subject of discussion in the Economic and Social Council, the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee, and the General Assembly. These bodies gave warm support and endorsement to these new policies.

With a wider latitude in the kinds of aid to be supported, it is anticipated that some countries will come forward with new approaches to the problems of youth, and that greater emphasis will be placed on urban improvement. For many years UNICEF has stressed village aid, recognizing that rural areas were less favored than other areas. Now with the migration of populations from villages to cities, serious "urban fringe" conditions are being created. The first project under the new approach to be presented to the UNICEF Board was one for Mexico, designed to improve conditions in Mexico City's lowest income areas. One of its many facets is vocational training of youth in the housing trades. The involvement of the International Labor Organization (ILO) with UNICEF in developing this project has been most advantageous and a closer relationship between the two organizations is anticipated in the future as other countries move in the direction of providing greater opportunities for youth. UNICEF/ILO cooperation will round out the cooperative arrangements that have been developed within the United Nations for facilitating UNICEF's programs—the World Health Organization (WHO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the U.N. Secretariat's Bureau of Social Affairs.

The General Assembly resolution establishing UNICEF specifically mentions as one of its purposes the training of skilled personnel serving children and aid for this training has been one of the categories provided by UNICEF for many years. Following receipt

and study of an extensive report on UNICEF-assisted training in the past, a policy of greater emphasis and broadened scope was adopted by the Board in 1961. The United States was instrumental in encouraging such a review and was strongly in favor of this increased emphasis. UNICEF aid for training is now available for all categories of personnel who furnish services relating to the welfare of children. UNICEF assistance is directed toward helping countries to develop their own basic training facilities within the country rather than rely on sending students abroad. In implementing this policy UNICEF may assume a larger share of local costs than in the past, such as stipends for trainees, though over the whole range of assistance to a country the local costs assumed by UNICEF will continue to represent a relatively small part. UNICEF aid for training is intended to stimulate countries to develop training programs for which they will ultimately assume complete responsibility.

The most striking shift in aid was in the African region where allocations for 1961 were $4.76 million compared with $2.2 million for 1958 and $3 million for 1960. While in the earlier years UNICEF assistance to African countries was largely in the field of mass disease control, a shift to building basic health services has taken place and more aid is going into the field of nutrition. Requests are also coming for education and social services.

Another shift took place in the Americas where for the first time in some years assistance to basic health projects was greater than for malaria eradication programs.

A WHO review of malaria programs prepared for UNICEF in 1961 (see page 263) showed that these on the whole have progressed satisfactorily. Though the period for which UNICEF orginally agreed to aid these campaigns has passed, the Board recognized the continuing need and the importance of insuring that large investments already made should not be wasted. Within somewhat narrowed criteria for aid and subject to the existing ceiling of $10 million, UNICEF will continue its assistance to this program.

In nutrition programs the trend is toward helping countries develop their own protein and protective foods. Aid for basic health services showed a commendable increase, with emphasis on integrated preventive and curative services and inclusion of special services for mothers and children as part of a total community plan.

Project development in the field of social services has been less rapid than desired, though a total of 17 projects have been aided in a program which had its inception in March 1959. The main obstacle to more rapid progress is the dearth of staff in the U.N. Secretariat's Bureau of Social Affairs needed to provide the necessary special consultation and technical advice.

Resources in 1961

UNICEF's income in 1961 reached $27.8 million, $2 million more than in 1960. Over 100 governments contributed on a voluntary basis. In addition, nongovernmental contributions increased, indicating continuing and increasing popular support for this program. The "Trick or Treat" program, an activity of the U.S. Committee for UNICEF, is expected to provide the Fund with $2 million. Greeting card sales increased substantially, to about 21 million cards as compared to 17 million a year ago, and will net the Fund about $1¼ million.

The U.S. Government contribution for 1961 remained at the previous level of $12 million but subject to a further reduction in its matching condition to 44 percent of total government contributions.

Visit to Mexico

On the invitation of the Mexican Government and as its guests, the Program Committee spent a week in Mexico observing various programs of service to mothers and children. This was another in a series of visits which governments have made possible for Board members and which add greatly to their understanding of problems and ways of meeting them. Members of the Board have expressed their appreciation of these opportunities, which have increased their personal effectiveness in carrying out their responsibilities.

UNICEF's Anniversary

December 11, 1961, marked the 15th Anniversary of the UNICEF program. In looking back over these years, the U.S. Government feels satisfaction in the part it has played in support of this humanitarian program. UNICEF's new directions, determined upon in 1961 with full U.S. support, should render it even more effective.

Population Commission

With the growing interest in planning for economic and social development in all parts of the world, the need for information about the interrelationships between population structure and growth on the one hand and economic and social development on the other has been intensified. The major responsibility of the Population Commission is to study and to advise the Economic and Social Council on the interrelationships of economic, social, and demographic factors which hinder or foster cultural development and the improvement of levels of living.

At its 11th session, held early in 1961, the Commission reaffirmed its position that it is the responsibility of each government to decide its own policies and to devise its own programs of action for dealing with the problems of economic and social development. In particular, each government must decide for itself whether or not any measures should be taken for the purpose of modifying the trends of population as an aid to the solution of these problems. On the other hand, it indicated that it is in the interest of the United Nations that decisions on national policies be taken; that national action programs be planned in the light of knowledge of relevant facts; and that programs should be adequate to assure satisfactory economic and social progress.

The Commission recommended that the United Nations encourage and assist governments, especially of the less developed countries, in obtaining basic data and carrying out essential studies of the demographic and other aspects of their economic and social development problems. It laid stress on the improvement of demographic statistics; the preparation and dissemination of technical material on methods of demographic analysis; regional training projects in demographic research; regional and interregional conferences and seminars on problems of population and relevant research questions; cooperation with the work of the regional economic commissions; and on technical assistance as requested by governments for research, experimentation and action relating to problems of population. The Commission also recommended increased emphasis on studies of international migration, particularly the influx of migrants into the principal cities, which is observed in many underdeveloped countries.

Two regional training centers have been established in cooperation with national governments, one for Latin American countries in Santiago, Chile; the other for the countries of Asia and the Far East near Bombay, India. The Commission recommended that one or more similar training centers be developed in Africa, with a program of work especially adapted to the needs and availability of data in that continent.

The Commission has sponsored a series of studies concerning the world demographic situation which have brought together available information on a worldwide basis. The most recent such report reviewed demographic developments in relation to mortality. In the years since the second World War progress in reducing mortality rates in underdevolped countries has been substantial though in some mortality rates are still high. The advanced countries, where mortality rates were already relatively low before the war, have made further progress in this field, but in general their gains in the last 15 years have been relatively small. Nevertheless, there remain substantial differences between the mortality levels of some underde-

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veloped countries and those of the more highly industrialized countries.

Further large gains in expectation of life at birth can be anticipated in the future in underdeveloped countries. The progress in the 1960's in this field might be as impressive as the gains since the second World War. Reductions in death rates lead to increases in population growth, unless there are corresponding reductions in birth rates. The Commission noted that the birth rates of underdeveloped countries have in general remained at high levels and there is as yet no indication that an early general decrease of fertility in these parts of the world is impending. Unless and until their birth rates fall, the continuing decline in their death rates will result in accelerated population growth.

Censuses of population have already been taken in about 130 countries and territories in connection with the 1960 World Population Census Program, and censuses in about 75 additional countries and territories are expected to be taken during 1961–64. The Commission urged continued assistance to countries in the completion of their censuses and especially in the analysis of their census results in relation to national problems. There had already been some regional seminars for the evaluation and utilization of population census results, some case studies, and some pilot projects in individual countries. The Commission recommended that this form of assistance to national governments be continued and expanded. It stressed particularly on-the-job training of personnel in the less developed countries in order to speed the use of the newly gained knowledge from recent censuses in the solution of national problems.

A worldwide conference of experts on population questions similar to the conference held in 1954 was recommended for 1964 or 1965. The new conference is to give greater attention to the demographic aspects of programs for economic and social development, and to the improvement through censuses and special surveys of information concerning demographic trends.

Mindful of the changing emphasis in the work that had been before the Commission since it was first established and of the need to concentrate limited resources on the most urgent problems, the Commission requested the Secretary-General to present at its 12th session, a long-range program of work for the Commission.

Housing, Urbanization, and Community Development

Housing and related community facilities such as schools, hospitals, and other health facilities are the concern of a number of U.N. organs including the U.N. Secretariat, the regional commissions and the following Specialized Agencies: International Labor Organization

(ILO), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), World Health Organization (WHO), and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The Economic and Social Council, the Social Commission, and the General Assembly have, in recent years, devoted considerable attention to the development of a long-range program of concerted action by all interested U.N. bodies in these fields.

During the past year, on the recommendation of the Social Commission, the ECOSOC decided to convene an *ad hoc* Group of Experts on Housing and Urban Development to advise the Social Commission on:

(a) The place of programmes for the extension of housing and basic community facilities within national development programmes, and the relationship between these programmes and national programmes and policies for urban development and regional planning;

(b) The successful techniques for mobilizing national resources for the extension of low-cost housing and urban development, as well as the appropriate methods for expanding and effectively utilizing international resources which may become available for the extension of housing and related community facilities. . . .

The U.N. Secretariat engaged in a varied program of activities during the year, which included factfinding surveys, studies of planning and programing methods, and pilot and demonstration projects. Basic information was obtained from a number of countries, including the United States, to make available the experience of these countries to the *ad hoc* Expert Group in advising on specific aspects of housing and urban development.

Activities concerning planning and programing methods were carried out by the Specialized Agencies and the regional commissions. UNESCO, in cooperation with the Regional Housing Center at Bandung, Indonesia, began work in establishing the Building Materials Development Laboratory for school construction. FAO gave increased attention to the problem of rural housing. The Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) adopted a new work program in which emphasis was given to problems of urbanization and the need to consider housing within the context of the community as a whole. The ECE also sponsored a seminar in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, on the Housing Problems of Less Industrialized Nations and, in conjunction with the United Nations, sponsored a seminar at Stockholm, Sweden, on Metropolitan Planning.

Pilot and demonstration projects emphasized particularly the importance of self-help to the low-cost housing programs of certain countries. A pilot project begun in Somalia enables labor contributed by the family to constitute the down payment for a housing unit. Loan funds from nongovernmental donations have been made available for this project through the U.N. Secretariat. As the loans are

repaid, the funds will again be available for additional housing units. In Tunisia a work shop has been established to demonstrate the practical application of self-help. Recommendations based on the experience of these projects will be made available to African countries through the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). Similarly, a five-member mission has been established to develop self-help programs for Asian countries.

Urbanization and problems resulting therefrom received greater attention during the year. ECOSOC in its discussions noted the growing concentration of population in urban areas and the accompanying social and economic problems, and recommended that special attention be given to the problems and needs of the developing countries. A resolution was adopted which approved the proposals for concerted international action with the participation of the United Nations and its regional commissions and Specialized Agencies. This resolution recommended further that governments "consider formulating a national policy on urbanization within the context of over-all development plans," and that national centers be designated to undertake research and recommend appropriate action programs, provide advisory services to interested communities, and promote training of technical and administrative personnel. This new program, to be undertaken in cooperation with national and local authorities, has the objective of strengthening the following areas of activity: city and regional planning; public administration as it applies to urbanization; and organization and expansion of community services and civic participation.

In the field of community development, seminars, special surveys and technical assistance projects continued to be the principal means of providing the knowledge and practical experience to meet these needs. Seminars, which dealt with the administration and training of personnel for community development programs, were held for Asian and European countries. Under the Technical Assistance Program, 37 expert missions on community development were undertaken in 32 countries. The U.N. Secretariat, in cooperation with the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), completed two special studies on the relationship of community development to economic development in Asian and African countries. The U.N. Secretariat also completed a study of the type of training required by community development workers in the various areas of the world. At present it has in progress a survey of land reform in eight countries which will be considered by ECOSOC. This study of land reform will examine particularly the interrelationship between land reform and community development. It is expected that results of the study will

show what has been done and what can be done in the way of land reform, and that recommendations will be made for further use of U.N. facilities in approaching this problem.

The importance of concerted action in meeting community development needs received increasing emphasis. The Administrative Committee on Coordination (established by ECOSOC to coordinate the activities of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies), in collaboration with the Specialized Agencies, broadened the scope of rural and community activity in its relation to housing and urbanization programs. One result of this has been to relate community development more directly to such programs as those concerned with self-help housing in Asia and Africa.

Advisory Social Welfare Services

Activities of the United Nations in the field of social welfare continue to be carried out under the program known as Advisory Social Welfare Services. Established in 1946 to furnish technical assistance in the field of social welfare, the program provides fellowships, scholarships, technical literature, and demonstration activities in the following areas: social welfare administration, training, family and child welfare services, community organization and research, social defense, and the social aspects of housing. The services are very much in demand, particularly in the newly independent states. Indeed, the increasing interest of governments in the use of social welfare advisers was reflected in a volume of requests for technical assistance far in excess of the resources available to meet them. During 1961, more than 80 countries received technical advice and other services under this program, which was financed by an appropriation of $1,375,000 from the regular U.N. budget.

The 13th session of the U.N. Social Commission, meeting in New York in May 1961 received a detailed evaluation report on this program, the first such evaluation to be completed since 1952. The evaluation was made in selected countries by a panel of four consultants. The Social Commission agreed unanimously, on the basis of the experts' assessment, that the program had produced encouraging results. Such developments as the expansion of national social welfare programs, housing facilities, the development of nationwide social policies and programs, and the establishment of new schools of social work and other training centers, could be clearly identified as contributions by this U.N. Technical Assistance service. The Commission's recommendations regarding further development of the program included the need for improved planning with governments, better

assessment of training needs, and more expeditious selection of experts. The strong emphasis on regional and interregional planning and activities, such as the special European Advisory Social Welfare program, was supported. The Social Commission considered regional activities especially appropriate for the United Nations in order to complement the apparent major emphasis of bilateral technical assistance programs on individual country projects. Regional seminars on such subjects as community development were held in 1961 in Athens, Greece; Bangkok, Thailand; and Dakar, Senegal.

In 1961 cooperation with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) resulted in an increasing number of requests for assistance in development of national family and child welfare programs. Under this cooperative arrangement between the U.N. Secretariat's Bureau of Social Affairs and UNICEF, U.S. social welfare experts have been recruited to serve for the United Nations in countries such as the U.A.R., Israel, Pakistan, Turkey, Iran, and Colombia.

A reflection of the closer coordination and cooperation between the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies in the field of the social services were the meetings of the United Nations-UNESCO Expert Group on the Contribution of the Social Sciences to Training Social Workers; the United Nations-FAO meeting in Rome in November 1961 on the Role of Home Economics and Social Workers in Meeting Family Needs; and the United Nations-WHO Expert Committee on Day Care Centers and Care of Children in Institutions, scheduled to be held in Geneva in 1962.

During 1961 the United States received more than 50 U.N. social welfare Fellows for long-term study programs. These Fellows have requested advanced training in order to qualify in their own countries as administrators of new social welfare programs, or as professors of social welfare in universities and other training centers. Fellows coming from Thailand and Argentina have been interested in new approaches in development of community services, the U.A.R. has emphasized social research, Australian Fellows have been interested in U.S. methods in supervision, while Scandinavian experts have given particular attention to new methods in family welfare. A number of the newly developing countries in South Asia and Africa have requested scholarships for a full 2 years of study as recommended by the 1961 session of the Social Commission.

The United States has joined with other members of the Social Commission, the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly in supporting the continuance of the Advisory Social Welfare Services program in view of the practical results—particularly in terms of the preparation of leadership personnel in countries throughout the world—achieved in social development.

Social Defense

The 1961 U.N. program in the field of social defense—prevention of crime and treatment of offenders—was directed toward increased use of technical assistance. Agreements were signed with the Governments of Japan and Brazil to set up regional institutes for training and research, thus enlarging the potential for strengthening the social defense services of developing countries in the regions. In addition, three experts were sent as advisers to governments and several fellowships were provided under U.N. auspices.

Continued leadership by the United Nations in social defense was urged by an Economic and Social Council resolution of August 2, 1961, adopted with U.S. support. The resolution endorsed the conclusions and recommendations of the second U.N. Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, held at London in August 1960, and drew attention to the problems of juvenile delinquency and the prevention of crime, especially in countries undergoing rapid social change. Improved coordination of the social defense program with other activities of the United Nations and Specialized Agencies was also stressed. The next Congress is scheduled to meet in Stockholm in 1965.

The U.N. Consultative Group on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, a technical body for the exchange of practical ideas and experience on crime prevention and control measures, met at Geneva December 5–15, 1961. Included on the agenda were such topics as methods of preventing juvenile delinquency and methods for group therapy in correctional treatment. Forty-five governments, including the United States, were represented at this first meeting of the Consultative Group, which is the successor to the European Consultative Group on Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders.

United Nations work in the social defense field was aided by some 138 individuals in 53 countries, including three from the United States. These individuals, referred to as national correspondents, are appointed by their governments to serve as an additional source of expert information to the U.N. Secretariat.

Narcotic Drugs

The 16th session of the U.N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs met at Geneva, April 24 to May 10, 1961. The United States was represented by A. Gilmore Flues, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, as Acting U.S. Representative, with W.L. Speer, of the Bureau of Narcotics, serving as Principal Adviser.

The Commission's Committee on Illicit Traffic met for 6 days preceding the Commission's meeting and submitted a report, subsequently adopted with minor changes by the Commission as a whole. The Committee, of which the United States is a member, consisted of 11 of the Commission members most concerned in this traffic. The Commission concluded that the principal drugs in the illicit traffic continued to be opium and the opiates, cocaine and marihuana. The largest seizures of opium and the opiates were reported from the Far East and the Near and Middle East, and it was again noted that the traffic was supplied by sources within the region. In the Far East, it was agreed, the primary source of raw opium was in the general area of the Thai-Burma-mainland China borders. An increase in the use and seizures of white drugs (morphine and its derivatives) in the Far East, particularly in Thailand, was noted. Discoveries of several clandestine laboratories were reported by Brazil, Hong Kong, Iran, Macao, Mexico, Thailand, and Syria (then part of the U.A.R.). The Commission reiterated its concern that conversion of raw opium frequently appeared to be carried out close to producing areas.

The traffic in diacetylmorphine (heroin) by different international routes to North America did not abate, nor did the traffic in opium and marihuana in the Near and Middle East. Apparently illicit supplies of cocaine from South America were undiminished, and there was some evidence of continued traffic in cocaine flowing to the Near and Middle East through Europe.

Attention was called to the rapid increase and spread in the illicit traffic by air throughout the world as air travel continues to increase. This illicit traffic was not confined to any particular region or route, and appears to be carried out mainly by passengers on regularly scheduled flights, although there have been instances involving airline personnel. Control of illicit trafficking by air presents special problems. The Commission stressed close cooperation between governments, development of narcotics intelligence work, and the use of technical assistance as essential measures leading to control of the illicit traffic. In connection with the illicit traffic, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs expressed the view that penalties should be of sufficient severity to deter the trafficker.

In addition to its conclusions relating to the illicit traffic, the Commission noted that the problem of drug addiction was different according to the country, social climate, and drugs involved, and it called attention to a much felt absence of data regarding existing facilities for aftercare and rehabilitation of addicts. The Commission emphasized the importance of civil commitment of addicts for treatment in a hospital institution having a drug-free atmosphere.

The Commission recorded its appreciation of the material on narcotics action and other reports of drug addiction contributed by the

U.S. Government, and it expressed the hope that other countries would encourage wider participation in research on addiction, and disseminate through the United Nations any technical data that might be developed.

Continually increased interest is being shown by governments in the use of technical assistance to improve narcotics control. The Commission decided that extensive training under the technical assistance program should be made available for members of the law enforcement services.

The United States, together with 72 other states, participated in a plenipotentiary conference, held at U.N. Headquarters, New York, from January 24 to March 25, 1961, which formulated the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961. The plenipotentiary conference had before it a draft prepared by the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, which had been examining this problem since 1948. The Single Convention represents the culmination of many years of effort to replace by a single instrument the nine multilateral treaties in the field. To date, the Convention has not come into effect.

The United States was represented at the second meeting of the Inter-American Consultative Group on Narcotics Control, held at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, late in 1961. This meeting of technicians discussed the principal regional problems arising out of the illicit narcotics traffic, and means (including the informing of public opinion, and the gaining of public support) of assisting the interested government agencies in dealing with these problems.

The United States was also represented at the CENTO Conference on Narcotics Control, held at Tehran, Iran, in June 1961 which discussed the regional problems involved and the control measures needed.

Refugee and Relief Problems

The Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was established in 1951 pursuant to a resolution of the fifth General Assembly. Its function is to provide legal and political protection to refugees who fall within the scope of the statute of the Office and to seek permanent solutions for the problems of refugees within the UNHCR mandate. During recent years the High Commissioner has been provided with supplemental authority to use his good offices in requesting assistance for refugees who have not been determined to be within the UNHCR mandate.

Felix Schnyder (a Swiss national) was elected High Commissioner by the 15th General Assembly to succeed Dr. Auguste R. Lindt who resigned effective November 3, 1960. Mr. Schnyder assumed his duties

on February 1, 1961, and his term of office expires on December 31, 1963. He is assisted by a resident staff in Geneva and by field representatives assigned to several countries.

The High Commissioner receives guidance from an Executive Committee on the Program of the UNHCR. This Committee was established by the General Assembly in conformity with an ECOSOC resolution of April 30, 1958. The Executive Committee is comprised of representatives of 25 governments and has usually been convoked twice a year to review the High Commissioner's programs and activities. A total amount of $6 million was budgeted for the High Commissioner's regular programs in 1961 of which the U.S. contributed $1,300,000. In 1961, in addition to its usual programs and activities, the Committee also approved several special refugee programs.

Refugees of European Origin in the Far East

Under a program for refugees of European origin in the Far East, which has continued for several years, the High Commissioner promotes and participates in the resettlement of refugees of European origin from mainland China and provides for their care and maintenance while in transit through Hong Kong. The High Commissioner assists voluntary agencies which participate in relief activities on behalf of the refugees, and makes resettlement grants for certain difficult cases. The flow of these refugees into Hong Kong during 1961 remained at a fairly steady level and more than 2,000 refugees from the mainland were settled there.

Camp Clearance

The High Commissioner's Camp Clearance Program, authorized in 1958, has continued during 1961 with increased momentum. By the end of 1961 the number of refugees in official camps in Europe was down to 8,700 compared with 15,000 in 1960. During 1961 emphasis was placed on low-cost housing for refugees, and on projects for establishment assistance. The financing for this program is now complete.

Nonsettled Refugees Living Outside Camps

It was estimated that there were approximately 65,000 nonsettled refugees under the mandate of the UNHCR outside camps in Europe at the end of 1961. The High Commissioner informed the 16th General Assembly that of these 65,000 of whom over 20,000 were in the handicapped categories, some 55,000 live in Austria, France, and Ger-

many where the economic situation is such as to lead to a gradual integration of the nonhandicapped. It was estimated that this number would be further reduced to approximately 51,000 refugees by the end of 1961.

Emergency Fund

Under the directives for the use of the Emergency Fund established by a General Assembly resolution in 1958, the High Commissioner reported that from January 1, 1961, until August 31, 1961, a total of $110,000 had been allocated from the Fund as follows: $10,000 was allocated for refugees in Cambodia and $100,000 for Angolan refugees in the Congo, of which it has been necessary to disburse only $25,000 so far. The uncommitted balance as of August 31, 1961, was $347,477.

The Emergency Fund has proved to be an indispensable instrument of the UNHCR, enabling him to respond immediately to urgent situations developing in connection with the duties conferred upon him by his mandate and by the good offices resolutions adopted by the 14th and 15th General Assemblies.

Award of the Nansen Medal

The Nansen Medal for 1961 was awarded to King Olav V of Norway in a ceremony held at Oslo University on October 10, 1961, in recognition of the King's interest in, and concern over the plight of refugees throughout the world. The Nansen Medal was instituted in 1954 by the first U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart, to honor the memory of Fridtjof Nansen, first League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, who laid the foundations for international assistance to refugees and established the "Nansen Passport." The presentation of the 10th Nansen Medal took place as commemorative ceremonies on all five continents were marking the birth of Nansen 100 years ago at Store Froen, Norway.

Legal Assistance and Indemnification

The UNHCR's program for legal assistance to refugees which was already being provided in Austria, Germany, Greece, and Italy, has been extended to Latin America and North Africa and also includes, on a modest scale, legal assistance to refugees in various other parts of the world through a central fund at Headquarters. In addition, during 1961 more than 20,000 claims were received from refugees for payments under the agreement between the UNHCR and the Federal Republic of Germany providing indemnification for refugees persecuted for reasons of nationality under Hitler's National Socialist regime.

Political Protection

During 1961 three additional countries ratified the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. These ratifications brought to 31 the number of countries parties to the Convention. In addition, The Hague Agreement relating to Refugee Seamen came into force on December 27, 1961, thus bringing new security for refugee seamen lacking travel papers.

Special Refugee Problems

In addition to these programs, the Office of the High Commissioner continued during 1961 to be concerned with the following special refugee problems: Algerian refugees in Tunisia and Morocco; Chinese refugees in Hong Kong; refugees from neighboring countries in Cambodia, Tibetan refugees in Nepal; Angolan refugees in the Congo; Ghanaian refugees in Togo, and Cuban refugees in Spain.

Algerian Refugees

During 1961 the High Commissioner continued his joint action with the League of Red Cross Societies for assistance to refugees from Algeria in Morocco and Tunisia. A relief operation was maintained for some 300,000 refugees, more than half of whom were children.

The operational budget for 1961 was approved in the amount of $6,963,600, part of which was required in cash and part in kind. As a result of appeals the UNHCR, in conjunction with the League of Red Cross Societies, was able to provide for the needs of the refugees. In addition to a cash contribution of $500,000, the United States provided the major portion of the dietary requirements in wheat, dried milk, flour, and oil made possible through Public Law 480.

Chinese Refugees in Hong Kong

The 12th General Assembly, considering the problem of approximately one million Chinese refugees in Hong Kong to be of international concern, in resolutions 1166(XII) and 1167(XII) of November 26, 1957, authorized the High Commissioner to lend his good offices to encourage arrangements for contributions for assistance to them. As a result, the Office of the UNHCR received and transmitted contributions for assistance to Chinese refugees in Hong Kong totaling nearly $800,000. In addition, the U.S. Government provided assistance to this group of refugees in the amount of $1 million in 1961.

New Refugee Situations

Refugees in Cambodia

The Royal Government of Cambodia in a letter to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, December 21, 1960, requested assistance from the United Nations to insure care and maintenance in Cambodia of refugees who had come from neighboring countries in recent years. The UNHCR was asked to make a survey of the situation, and it was found that there are some 5,000 to 6,000 persons in need of assistance. The UNHCR made available to the Cambodian Government a sum of $10,000 from its Emergency Fund for this purpose.

Tibetan Refugees in Nepal

Within the framework of a resolution (1388 (XIV)) adopted by the 14th General Assembly, the UNHCR received approximately $30,000 for assistance to Tibetan refugees in Nepal. This sum was turned over to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) which is cooperating with the Government of Nepal in carrying out an aid and resettlement program for these refugees.

Angolan Refugees in the Congo

Approximately 148,500 refugees from Angola now in the Congo were provided with material assistance by the United Nations and private agencies during 1961. $100,000 from the Emergency Fund was earmarked for this purpose of which $25,000 has been contributed. It is expected that beginning in 1962 these refugees will be self-supporting and the general relief program can be discontinued.

Refugees in Togo

The Government of the Republic of Togo has asked the UNHCR to make an investigation of the situation concerning 10,000 refugees of Ewe ethnic origin who have migrated from the trans-Volta region in Ghana to Togo since 1960. Some 8,000 are reported to be in need of assistance. The UNHCR is asking for contributions from governments for food, medical care, and clothing. The United States is planning to respond to this appeal by providing foodstuffs under Public Law 480.

Cuban Refugees in Spain

The Government of Spain has asked for assistance from the UNHCR for the care of some 5,000 refugees from Cuba now in Spain. An initial sum of $5,000 was contributed to the UNHCR from a pri-

vate source and transmitted by him to the voluntary agency working with these refugees to provide for their needs.

Joint UNHCR/UNRWA Stamp Plan

The Joint UNHCR/UNRWA (U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees) Stamp Plan was initiated by UNHCR and provided for a worldwide simultaneous issue of postage stamps on April 7, 1960. The object of this Stamp Plan was to draw attention to the needs of refugees and to obtain funds for their assistance. $1.5 million has already been received and the final figure is expected to reach $1,600,000. Twenty-five percent of the proceeds will be used through UNRWA to meet needs of refugees from Palestine in the Middle East and 75 percent will be used through the UNHCR for refugees in other parts of the world. Seventy-two governments issued refugee stamps under the special Stamp Plan.

Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Activities

Although educational, scientific, and cultural activities continued primarily as a responsibility of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the U.N. Economic and Social Council and the U.N. General Assembly also considered certain aspects of these questions.

UNESCO assists its 104 members in programs to improve educational development, to stimulate scientific research, to promote greater mutual understanding of cultural values, to encourage the exchange of ideas and the flow of information, and to bring about international cooperation among its member states.

During 1961 UNESCO continued to implement the three long-term major projects that were initiated at its General Conference at New Delhi in 1956: (1) the extension of primary education in Latin America—a 10-year program designed to expand facilities and increase the number of teachers; (2) the promotion of scientific research on arid lands—a 6-year project which concentrates on aridity problems in the belt stretching from north Africa across the Middle East to south Asia; and (3) the fostering of mutual appreciation of cultural values between Asia and the West—a 10-year project involving a series of activities to develop greater understanding between the countries of the Orient and the Occident.

Education

A Conference of African states on the Development of Education in Africa was held May 15–25, 1961, in Addis Ababa under the spon-

sorship of UNESCO and the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). Thirty-nine states and territories participated along with 24 observer governments including the United States. The conference mapped out educational needs of Africa and proposed a short-range 5-year plan and a long-range 20-year plan to bring about universal primary education by 1981.

Both the U.N. Economic and Social Council and the U.N. General Assembly called for increased aid to assist in the African educational development program. The General Assembly invited UNESCO to convene in 1963, jointly with ECA, another Conference of African states to review the execution, costs, and targets of the plans adopted at the 1961 Conference, and to analyze national educational programs with a view to assisting the integration of these programs in overall national development plans.

In line with a decision of its General Conference held in November-December 1960, UNESCO implemented an Emergency Program of Aid to Africa, financed by the voluntary contributions of member states, and designed to meet certain urgent educational needs of Africa over and above those to be met from the regular budget. These urgent needs included: (1) planning of low-cost school buildings; (2) development of teaching aids; (3) provision of teachers for secondary, technical, and higher education; and (4) assessment of educational needs. UNESCO received contributions or pledges of contributions from 16 member states, in addition to the $1 million announced by the United States at the 11th General Conference. In addition, 19 member states contributed a total of 249 fellowships and study grants to speed up the training of qualified specialists from African countries for teaching careers.

UNESCO provided teachers and experts to the Republic of the Congo (Léopoldville) within the framework of the civilian operations of the United Nations (ONUC). In this connection, UNESCO assisted primarily in recruiting secondary, normal, and technical school teachers; in providing experts to work with the Ministry of Education in the fields of administration and supervision; in training teachers and senior educational staff; and in conducting educational studies and research. Among other developments in Africa was the opening in Accra, Ghana, of a UNESCO Regional Center for Education in Africa, staffed by UNESCO experts; and in Yaoundé, Cameroon, of a UNESCO Regional Textbook Production Center, where teaching materials will be printed for use in that country and in neighboring French-speaking countries. A UNESCO School Construction Bureau for Africa started operations in Khartoum, Sudan. The Bureau is designing the first of two teacher-training schools in the Sudan. The other school will be built in the northern region of Nigeria.

UNESCO's Major Project on the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America continued to receive particular attention in 1961. Highly important in the UNESCO program were the five associated normal schools, two of them located in Nicaragua and the others in Colombia, Honduras, and Ecuador. These schools are providing inservice training to hundreds of teachers whose qualifications do not meet newly established standards. Equally important to the UNESCO program are the two associated universities in São Paulo, Brazil, and Santiago, Chile. Both institutions collaborate with UNESCO in training education specialists.

The Regional Fundamental Education Center for Latin America (CREFAL) in Pátzcuaro, Mexico, marked its 10th year of operation in 1961 by training 60 community development specialists from a number of Latin American countries. In all CREFAL has trained more than 600 specialists who are seeking to promote community action and literacy training in neglected areas. Community development training also received continued support in the UNESCO Center at Sirs-El-Layyan, United Arab Republic.

UNESCO cosponsored the 24th annual UNESCO-International Bureau of Education Conference on Public Education in Geneva, July 3–14. The agenda items covered a report of educational development in each member state, a study of rural one-teacher primary school and preprimary education.

UNESCO continued its educational program for Arab refugees from Palestine, which is financed and administered by the U.N. Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). Teacher training was provided at two centers in Jordan with a total enrollment of about 200 students.

The U.N. General Assembly expressed concern with the extent of illiteracy existing in many countries of the world and invited UNESCO to review the question of the eradication of illiteracy at its next General Conference and to present recommendations to the U.N. Economic and Social Council and the U.N. General Assembly as to measures which might be taken, within the framework of the United Nations, for cooperation in the eradication of illiteracy.

UNESCO acted as the executing agency for 25 projects approved by the U.N. Special Fund (see page 254). These are large projects in Africa, Asia, and Latin America whose gross cost average over $3 million each. Toward these projects the Special Fund is contributing $27,600,000. The remaining $54,200,000 is being contributed by the governments of the countries in which these projects are being carried out.

Four of these projects are designed to train secondary school teachers in the Cameroon, the Ivory Coast, Nigeria, and the Sudan. Fifteen other projects are for training engineers, architects, and other technicians in Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Iran, Iraq, Laos, Lebanon,

Libya, Malta, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Thailand, Turkey, and the West Indies. Other projects involve the creation or strengthening of institutes of applied research for mechanical engineering and for power engineering in India, a central scientific instruments organization for petroleum in Argentina, and a national institute of standards in the United Arab Republic.

The total expenditure for education in 1961 was $10,565,408, including funds for the African emergency program and the Major Project on the Extension of Primary Education in Latin America.

Natural Sciences

UNESCO continued its support of cooperative efforts in the field of science by assisting a number of scientific organizations, by promoting science teaching, by encouraging scientific research and by supporting centers for scientific cooperation in Montevideo, Cairo, New Delhi, and Djakarta.

The Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC) was organized at its first meeting at UNESCO Headquarters in Paris, October 19–27. The Commission adopted a resolution proposing that all oceanographic data taken by research ships and recording stations outside territorial waters be freely exchanged among the 40 participating nations. The Commission also proposed that consideration be given to about a dozen regional and national oceanographic surveys and received a report on the Indian Ocean Expedition (see page 245) in which a total of 40 ships from 20 nations, including the United States, will be participating during the peak of activities in 1962–63.

UNESCO, in collaboration with the International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics (IUGG), sent seismological survey missions to the Far East and South America to collect and analyze data on seismological observatories, to map these seismic regions, and to draw up appropriate building codes. American scientists participated actively in the survey missions and in the seminars which followed. Three additional missions were planned for 1962 to go to: (1) the Mediterranean area; (2) Central America; and (3) Africa.

The 60th session of the UNESCO Executive Board held in Paris in November endorsed a project proposed by the United States for international scientific cooperation in the field of hydrology. As an initial step, the Executive Board authorized the convening of an intergovernmental conference in 1963–64 to explore ways in which member states might cooperate in the field of scientific hydrology.

UNESCO's Major Project on Scientific Research on Arid Lands continued to be of interest in 1961. In this connection, 70 scientists from all over the world, including the United States, attended a joint symposium of UNESCO and the World Meteorological Organiza-

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tion (WMO) (see page 289) in Rome in October to discuss changes of climate in reference to arid lands.

The U.N. Economic and Social Council made a careful study of the UNESCO survey on the main trends of inquiry in the natural sciences, the dissemination of scientific knowledge, and the application of such knowledge for peaceful ends. A Working Group of the Council prepared a number of comments on the recommendations of the survey. The Council urged that the survey be given wide distribution to scientific circles and that the Specialized Agencies set forth their proposals for the implementation of the recommendations of the survey in their next annual reports to the United Nations.

The Economic and Social Council approved the recommendation of the U.N. Scientific Advisory Committee for the calling of a United Nations Conference in Geneva on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas, if possible, in August 1962. The Advisory Committee later changed this date to 1963.

Expenditures in 1961 in the field of the Natural Sciences and for the Major Project on the Arid Lands amounted to $6,974,177.

Social Sciences

In its social science program for 1961, UNESCO continued to focus on the following objectives: the maintenance and expansion of international cooperation among social scientists; collection and analysis of statistics in all fields of UNESCO activities; the promotion and development of social science teaching and research; and the application of the social sciences to specific problems of social and economic development.

During 1961 UNESCO established an Economic Analysis Unit within its Department of Social Sciences. This unit is designed to stimulate research and studies on the role of education in national programs for economic and social development of the various member states, as a basis for educational planning.

UNESCO continued to develop and improve social science teaching by sending experts to countries on request, by providing fellowships, and by assisting the Latin American Social Science Faculty in Santiago, Chile.

Total expenditures for 1961 in the social sciences amounted to $1,527,693.

Cultural Activities

UNESCO continued to support studies, both directly and through subventions to nongovernmental organizations concerned with the

humanities. Such assistance in the field of arts and letters included the promotion of reading materials for new literates, the preservation of cultural property, the development of museums, libraries, archives, documentation, and the exchange of publications.

A highlight in the UNESCO program has been the progress made in saving the ancient monuments in Nubia threatened with inundation as a result of the building of the Aswan High Dam. Many of the smaller monuments and temples have been removed to safe ground. Several institutions are excavating in the area. The U.S. Congress has approved the equivalent of $4 million in U.S.-owned Egyptian currency for the UNESCO international campaign. This sum includes $2,500,000 for the removal of temples, and $1,500,000 to finance archeological research in the area by American institutions. In connection with the Nubian Campaign, the United Arab Republic sent on an American tour for the first time a collection of priceless items from the Tutankhamon tomb.

UNESCO, with the approval and cooperation of member states, initiated a program designed to preserve and disseminate information on the cultural heritage of the African nations.

UNESCO continued its program to provide reading materials for new literates in Burma, Ceylon, India, Iran, and Pakistan. In this project, UNESCO encouraged the distribution of reading materials in the languages of the area, and stimulated interest in reading. UNESCO helped prepare and produce reading materials and assisted in the development of associations of writers, illustrators, publishers, distributors, and librarians. Furthermore, UNESCO provided experts and fellowships for training in these areas and stimulated seminars and exhibits.

An international convention to protect the rights of performers, broadcasters, and record producers was completed and adopted at a diplomatic conference in Rome October 10–26. The conference was convened jointly by UNESCO, the International Labor Organization (ILO), and the Bureau of the Berne Union.

Under the UNESCO Major Project on Mutual Appreciation of Asian and Western Cultural Values the Iranian National Committee of the International Music Council organized an international roundtable discussion in Tehran from April 6–12. The theme of this roundtable was the "Preservation of the Traditional Forms of Classical and Popular Music in the Countries of the East and West." Composers, musicologists, and critics from 27 countries participated.

Total expenditures in the field of cultural activities for 1961, including the Third Major Project on Asian-Western Understanding, amounted to $2,394,581.

Mass Communications

UNESCO's Mass Communications Program continued to be devoted to the development of information media in the less developed areas; to the use of mass communications techniques in education; and to documentation and research in mass communications, including cooperation with and support of nongovernmental organizations operating in this field. UNESCO continued to publish its monthly *Courier* and *Chronicle*, and issued information booklets and brochures. A UNESCO survey revealed that nearly 70 percent of the world's population lacked adequate news facilities. To overcome this serious situation, UNESCO continued its regional meetings on the development of mass media in underdeveloped countries initiated at the request of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights and the U.N. Economic and Social Council. In February UNESCO held a regional meeting in Santiago, Chile, to consider the development of information media in Latin America, including proposals for the development of news agencies, newspapers, radio, television and film, and the training of specialists in these fields.

An International Seminar on Educational Television was held at Purdue University, October 8–18, under the auspices of UNESCO, the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, and Purdue University. Experts from 45 countries participated.

UNESCO sponsored a conference in Moshi, Tanganyika, on Educational Broadcasting in Africa in September. Thirty countries of tropical Africa were represented. The Organization continued to assist in the training of journalists in Africa, Southeast Asia, Latin America, and in Europe and the Mediterranean area. Seminars were held in Manila and Dakar on journalistic methods and techniques. Regular courses were given in UNESCO-sponsored schools in Strasbourg, France, and Quito, Ecuador. An American specialist participated in the Manila seminar. Five American specialists lectured in Quito at the International Center for Advanced Studies in Journalism (CIESPAL).

In December UNESCO convened a meeting of experts in Bangkok on the Development of News Agencies in Asia and the Far East. The experts suggested measures to establish or expand national news agencies and increase cooperation between world news agencies and national news agencies. Experts from 24 countries, including the United States, attended the meeting.

Total expenditures in the field of mass communications for 1961 was $2,176,446.

U.S. National Commission for UNESCO

From October 22–26 the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO held its eighth National Conference in Boston, on the theme "Africa and the United States: Images and Realities." About 2,000 persons attended. Speakers and panelists numbered 288, including about 50 African leaders representing 16 countries. The speakers included Foreign Minister Jaja Wachuku of Nigeria and Assistant Secretaries of State G. Mennen Williams and Philip H. Coombs. Sectional meetings were devoted to education, science, culture, and communication. The Conference generated interest all over the country as shown by press and radio coverage and followup programs.

Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

Action to expand understanding and respect for human rights continued in 1961 in the U.N. system. The Commission on Human Rights considered a second series of triennial reports on developments and progress in human rights and established a committee to review these reports. The Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee (the Third Committee) of the General Assembly began consideration of a draft convention and recommendation proposing sound standards for marriage, which had been forwarded from the Status of Women Commission. It also approved certain texts on freedom of information. The Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council considered important aspects of the human rights field. Regional seminars under the program of advisory services in the field of human rights were held in the Far East, Europe, and Latin America.

Human Rights Commission

The Human Rights Commission held its 17th session in New York February 20 to March 17. Mrs. Marietta Tree represented the United States. The item on periodic reports on human rights considered at this session was originally proposed by the United States as a means of assuring regular review of developments and progress in this field. At 3-year intervals, member governments and Specialized Agencies are invited to supply information, which is then summarized by the Secretary-General under topics related to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The summaries presented during the 17th session were the second series of these reports, and covered the period 1957–59. Fifty-nine governments including all the larger countries supplied information. This represented a considerably larger number than

had contributed previously. While many governments emphasized the legal aspects of human rights rather than the actual situation in their countries and made little mention of their particular problems, the procedure proved useful as a basis for an exchange of experience and discussion of basic human rights issues. The Commission appointed a six-member Committee on Periodic Reports to meet in advance of its next session to examine information submitted and possibly to prepare draft comments, conclusions and recommendations of an objective and general character.

A second item of major importance considered by the Commission was a report on the right of everyone to be free from arbitrary arrest, detention, and exile. This study had been initiated several years earlier, and had been entrusted to a Committee of four of its members, which had prepared both monographs on pertinent laws and practices in some 80 countries and territories and a summary report based on this information. The study dealt with fundamental and constitutional principles, followed by an examination of the grounds and procedures under which persons might be arrested and detained; their rights during detention and the remedies available to them against arbitrary action. Though the Commission did not discuss the report in detail, it transmitted it to governments for comment, and requested its Committee to prepare a revised report in the light of these comments. It also requested the Committee to prepare draft principles on these topics for consideration in its next session.

In addition, the Commission considered a recommendation from the U.N. seminar on the protection of human rights held in Vienna in 1960 concerning the importance of arrested persons having the right to communicate with legal counsel and others in order to insure their defense or to protect their essential interests. The Commission requested its Committee to make a separate study on this subject.

Freedom of Information

Two reports were presented to the Commission, one by UNESCO on the development of information media in underdeveloped countries and the other by the Secretary-General on developments in freedom of information since 1954. In addition, the Third Committee of the General Assembly adopted articles concerning freedom of information for the draft Covenants on Human Rights, as well as for additional articles for the draft Convention on Freedom of Information.

The UNESCO report on freedom of information was based on two premises: (1) that adequate mass communication facilities are a prerequisite to freedom of information, and (2) that development of information media is a part of economic development as a whole and could therefore be assisted by resources drawn from technical assist-

ance programs. The report analyzed the information situation by regions, pointing out that nearly 70 percent of the world's population, living in more than 100 countries, lacked adequate news facilities.

On the basis of its review of this report, the Human Rights Commission recommended that the less developed countries consider various possibilities for the establishment and expansion of national news agencies, newspapers and periodicals, radio broadcasting, films and television; and include planning for information media within programs for economic and social development. It also recommended the establishment of national committees to assist in formulating and carrying out such plans; action through both bilateral and multilateral aid programs; training facilities for professional and technical personnel; research on use and future needs; and practical measures to reduce the cost and facilitate the flow of information. ECOSOC reviewed and approved the recommendations of the Human Rights Commission.

The report on developments in freedom of information since 1954 had been requested by the Economic and Social Council in order to up-date earlier information. It had been prepared by a special consultant retained by the Secretary-General, Dr. Hilding Eek of Sweden, and was based on replies from governments and other appropriate sources. The report contained an analysis of differing concepts of freedom of information which had prevented agreement within the United Nations on comprehensive principles in the field, pointing out that basic differences could probably be resolved only as a number of different sources of information, through media of all kinds, became available in all areas. The Council noted the importance of the report, and transmitted it to member states for comment and any additional information they considered pertinent. It also asked the Human Rights Commission to review the report at its next session.

The Third Committee of the General Assembly dealt with freedom of information under two of its agenda items, the draft Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the draft Convention on Freedom of Information. It did not have time to consider the draft Declaration on Freedom of Information, originally proposed by the United States, and postponed this item to its next session.

The Third Committee first considered the proposed text of article 19 of the draft Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which deals with freedom of information. This article was drafted originally in the Commission on Human Rights, and the United States voted in favor of it. It provided that everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference and to freedom of expression, including freedom to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, in any form or media. The debate centered principally on an amendment initiated by India with the

support of certain African and Arab countries to replace "seek" by "gather." The purpose of this amendment was to restrict the efforts of news reporters and others in obtaining information not readily available in official or other public sources. The same amendment had been proposed in relation to a similar text in the 14th General Assembly in 1959, and had been adopted in spite of vigorous opposition by the United States and other Western countries. In this session, however, the proposed amendment was defeated by a vote of 59 to 25, with 6 abstentions. The United States voted against the amendment and for the final text which was adopted.

The Third Committee then adopted the text of article 26 calling for the prohibition by law of any propaganda for war and any advocacy of national, racial, or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility, or violence. A number of countries, including the United States, opposed the wording of this article because it might readily be used to justify censorship. The final vote was 52 to 19 (U.S.), with 12 abstentions.

Later in the session Committee Three considered the draft Convention on Freedom of Information and adopted two additional articles for this convention. One article concerned the protection of existing rights and the other concerned the right of reply. There was no controversy on the first of these articles, but in the case of the right of reply, the United States opposed the text, as did others, because of difficulties in practical implementation.

Discrimination and Minorities

The Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities met for its 13th session in New York from January 10 to January 31. This is a body of experts in which members participate in their individual capacity. John M. Raymond attended the session as alternate for the American expert member, Judge Philip Halpern, who was unable to be present because of illness. The Subcommission gave major attention to the draft report on discrimination in political rights presented by its Special Rapporteur, Hernan Santa Cruz of Chile, and made various suggestions to clarify concepts of democracy and equality in the right to participate in government.

The Subcommission considered a progress report on its study of the right of every person to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his own country. Jose Ingles of the Philippines was the Special Rapporteur for this report.

The Subcommission considered reports on the wave of anti-Semitic incidents which began in a number of countries late in 1959 and had been a source of concern at the 1960 session of the Subcommission. In response to the request of the Subcommission, information had

been received on this situation from a number of governments, from the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and from nongovernmental organizations. There was no evidence of any organized international movement causing these incidents; while in some instances the outbreaks had been encouraged by small organization units, for the most part the incidents appeared to be sporadic and spontaneous in character, often the work of young persons or persons of unstable character with little understanding of the issues involved. Public opinion had been outspoken against the incidents, and public authorities had dealt promptly with the perpetrators. The Soviet member of the Subcommission disagreed with this evaluation, claiming that the incidents reflected a revival of Nazism. The only significant information on the situation in the Soviet Union was provided by a nongovernmental organization in consultative status with ECOSOC which cited examples of anti-Semitic activities reported in Soviet newspapers with no indication of any action to prevent or punish such activities. The two Communist members of the Subcommission objected to the presentation of this evidence.

Since the wave of anti-Semitic incidents had subsided, it was felt that governments should be able to deal with further incidents through national and local action, and the Subcommission decided not to pursue the study further. It urged, however, that the General Assembly recommend sustained efforts by member states to educate public opinion and to take legislative action as necessary to combat racial prejudice and national and religious intolerance. The Human Rights Commission later approved the Subcommission's recommendation and the Economic and Social Council forwarded it to the General Assembly. The General Assembly, however, was unable to complete work on this item and it was held over for action at its next session in 1962.

Advisory Services

Three regional seminars in the field of human rights were held during 1961: a seminar in New Zealand in February on the protection of human rights, a seminar in Bucharest in June on the status of women in family law, and a seminar in Mexico City in August on amparo, habeas corpus and other similar remedies. Assistant Attorney General Nicholas de B. Katzenbach attended the seminar in Mexico City on behalf of the United States, with Harold Reis of the Department of Justice as his alternate, together with Attorney General Hiram B. Cancio of Puerto Rico as the participant from the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. The program of advisory services in human rights, of which the seminars have become the major part,

was originally proposed by the United States and has had its consistent support.

As a further step in the program, the United States took the lead in the 16th General Assembly to provide funds for fellowship awards under this program. Although provision for fellowships, and for expert assistance at the request of member states, was authorized in the original authorization of this program, funds allocated annually in the amount of $100,000 have been sufficient for only the three regional seminars planned under this program. The General Assembly approved the resolution cosponsored by the United States with 17 other countries to provide funds for fellowships and to call on the Secretary-General to publicize this program. The U.N. budget for 1962 accordingly contains an additional $40,000 for human rights fellowships.

Status of Women

The major developments in the United Nations in 1961 affecting the status of women were the completion by the Status of Women Commission of a draft Convention and a draft Recommendation on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age of Marriage and Registration of Marriages; and the initial debate on these instruments in the Third Committee of the 16th General Assembly, which gave them priority attention. The Committee reached agreement on the three substantive articles for the draft Convention, postponing consideration of the remainder of the Convention and the Recommendation to the 17th General Assembly. Mrs. Charles Tillett, the U.S. Representative on the Status of Women Commission, also represented the United States in the Third Committee. She expressed U.S. support for the adoption of both the Convention and the Recommendation.

The articles approved by the Third Committee for the draft Convention define the conditions for entering into marriage. However, it leaves the responsibility for determining the legal effects of nonobservance of these requirements to the governments of the contracting states. The first article deals with free and full consent, specifying that this shall be expressed by each of the intending spouses in person in the presence of the authority competent to solemnize the marriage and of witnesses as prescribed by law. The Third Committee added a provision to this article recognizing proxy marriage in exceptional circumstances. The second article states that each party to the Convention shall take legislative action to specify a minimum age for marriage, but does not itself specify that age, leaving the decision to the particular state. The third article provides for official registration of marriages.

Debate in the Third Committee centered on article 1 on safeguards for free consent, particularly on questions raised by representatives from countries where traditional marriage procedures might not provide fully for such expression "in person." The critical vote proved to be on the reference to "exceptional" circumstances in the paragraph relating to proxy marriage; this reference was maintained by a vote of 39 (U.S.) to 17, with 24 abstentions. While the United States voted in favor of retaining "exceptional" in the paragraph on proxy marriage, it voted against the proxy marriage provision as a whole. However, the United States voted for article 1, as a whole, as amended, and for the other two substantive articles.

The 15th session of the Commission on the Status of Women, in which these draft instruments were completed, was held in Geneva from March 13 to 30, 1961. The Commission also considered progress in political rights, various aspects of discrimination in economic opportunities open to women, and conditions for women in the teaching profession.

In the field of political rights, the Commission expressed satisfaction that the overwhelming majority of the new nations admitted to the United Nations had granted full political rights to women and that progress was also being made by other nations. It was noted that in each of the seminars on the participation of women in public life there had been requests for practical information to help women understand their political and civic rights and fulfill their duties as citizens. The Commission accordingly decided that its earlier pamphlet on "Political Education of Women," now out of print, should be revised and reissued.

The Commission examined two questions relating to the employment of women; namely, discriminatory practices limiting their access to certain occupations and means by which their job opportunities might be increased. In connection with the first question, the Commission considered a report prepared by the International Labor Organization (ILO) on the application of its Convention and Recommendation on Discrimination in Employment with particular reference to women. The information gathered by the ILO showed that in some countries married women frequently experience difficulties in obtaining employment, or in continuing in their work after marriage, and that in some cases legislation or regulations restrict the employment of married women. Problems also appeared to exist where the cost of social welfare benefits, such as maternity benefits, were defrayed wholly by employers and not out of public funds. The Commission accordingly recommended that member states eliminate any such restrictions on women's employment, and asked the ILO for additional information on the effect of social benefit programs. On the second question, means by which job opportunities

might be increased, the Commission reviewed the possibilities of more part-time work opportunities for women with home responsibilities, and the need to change social attitudes which often discourage women from training and seeking employment in accord with their skills and abilities. The Commission urged governments "to promote for women who desire to work employment in accordance with their qualifications and abilities," and asked the ILO for information on its programs in this field. The Commission also decided on a new approach to the study of women's occupations with a view to placing greater emphasis on methods found useful by governments and organizations in promoting the access of women to training and employment in the professsional and technical fields. The Commission expressed the hope that the ILO would suggest a plan for studies of other occupational areas, including those in which large numbers of women are employed, for consideration in its 1963 session. The Economic and Social Council later approved the recommendation of the Commission.

An earlier report on tax legislation as it applies to women was considered in greater detail in this session of the Commission. The discussion centered on the effect of income tax systems, particularly whether assessment on the basis of the aggregate income of husband and wife was a denial of the principle that a woman was an individual distinct from her husband and as such entitled to the separate use and control over money earned by her. It was pointed out that since a woman usually earned less than her husband, assessments based on aggregate income often resulted in a disproportionate reduction in the value of a married woman's earnings, whereas a system permitting separate income tax returns, such as that used in the United States, was more likely to be equitable. The Commission called the attention of member states to the desirability of providing an option for married couples as to whether they should be taxed jointly or separately.

On the question of the access of women to education, the Commission considered a report on women in the teaching profession prepared by UNESCO in response to a request of the Commission in 1959. While it was evident that women were playing an increasingly important role in this field, the report showed also that women teachers were frequently paid less than men in the same positions and were less likely to be promoted to higher positions. The Commission adopted a resolution, later approved by the Council, calling upon educational authorities in member states to insure, in law and in fact, a complete professional training for women teachers, equal access to posts of responsibility and authority, the elimination of discrimination against married women as teachers, and an increase in opportunities for exchange programs. In the discussion, emphasis

was placed on the need for more women teachers in the developing countries, especially in Africa. The discussion included the question of illiteracy, which has been a greater problem for women, and the resolution called on UNESCO to continue its efforts to overcome illiteracy with particular attention to the needs of women.

GENERAL REVIEW AND COORDINATION OF U.N. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

The economic and social activities of the United Nations, its Specialized Agencies, and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) have become so manifold that the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) decided it should intensify its efforts at coordinating these activities, a function assigned to it by article 63 of the Charter. On an experimental basis the Council at its 30th session established an *Ad Hoc* Working Group on Coordination which was to prepare a concise statement of the issues and problems in the field of coordination arising from the documents (Reports of the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC), the Specialized Agencies and the IAEA) transmitted to the Council and calling for its special attention. The first report of the Working Group was discussed at the 32d session of the Council in the summer of 1961. It had the desired results, for it succeeded in directing the discussions to the problems of coordination involved in three specific programs: education and training, industrialization, and rural development.

The problem of education and training is an important problem for all less developed countries. In order for the efforts of the U.N. system to be effective in helping the less developed countries to meet this critical problem, the Council recognized as essential that the activities of the various organizations be closely coordinated, and their policies as far as possible be harmonized. The ACC had already decided that the agencies should work toward the establishment of an integrated approach with respect to education and training not only in Africa, but in other parts of the world as well, and had acknowledged the need to harmonize all activities and to work toward an integrated approach with regard to conception, action, and the resources available, as well as with regard to the machinery and measures to be used.

A Subcommittee of the ACC has been established to keep these activities under review, and the Economic and Social Council suggested that the ACC machinery be utilized further to develop recommendations aimed at harmonizing the policies of the various organiza-

tions and at coordinating their activities. A subsequent report will come to the Council from the ACC at its 34th session, hopefully with specific recommendations.

Although the Council had discussed at various times the problem of industrial development, the *Ad Hoc* Working Group on Coordination pointed out that there was need to supplement the measures that had thus far been taken in order to insure the development of a concerted approach to the problem as a whole. The Council wished to avoid the agencies concerned developing and establishing their own programs without reference to each other or to possible conflicts and overlapping. The ACC was, therefore, requested to study further the question of coordination in the field of industrialization, with a view to developing a concerted approach and to translating this approach into specific programs of concerted action wherever such action can contribute effectively to the progress of industrialization. This report of the ACC will be submitted to the Committee on Industrial Development (see page 206) when it meets in March 1962. The report is aimed at assisting the Committee to insure the utmost efficiency and cooperation in the work of all the U.N. organizations concerned with industrialization.

International action to help in raising income and living conditions in rural areas was identified by the *Ad Hoc* Working Group on Coordination as an area requiring urgent attention. It was pointed out that at the Secretariat level of the United Nations and its Specialized Agencies joint consideration was being given to rural and community development programs. The *Ad Hoc* Working Group also reemphasized the importance of the rural development program and the fact that community development should be considered a technique that could play an important role in rural development programs, but should not be considered a program by itself.

The Council was aware that the programs on industrialization, rural development, urbanization, and housing were interrelated. They were, however, being developed without reference to one another. The Council, therefore, drew the attention of governments and appropriate U.N. bodies and organizations to the need to deal with the problems relating to these programs as a whole. A coordinated approach was essential in view of the interaction of economic and social factors in the development of the less developed countries and the fact that these elements cannot be disassociated.

The *Ad Hoc* Working Group was successful in pinpointing the programs in which problems of coordination existed or in which concerted action was essential and which required discussions in depth in the Council. The *Ad Hoc* Working Group was continued for another year with the same terms of reference. The following countries were

elected to it at the resumed 32d session of the Council: Australia, Brazil, Denmark, Ethiopia, Japan, and Poland.

In spite of the assistance given the Council by the *Ad Hoc* Working Group and even though the ACC had taken certain steps to improve the type of information and assistance it gives, the Council considered that further improvements could be made, especially in the ACC reports. It, therefore, particularly requested the inclusion in such future reports not only of precise and detailed information on achievements, problems, and difficulties encountered in the field of coordination, but also of specific recommendations for action by the Council. The ACC has been particularly reluctant in the past to attempt this. The Secretary-General and the executive heads of the agencies were specifically charged with taking whatever further steps might be necessary to insure the effective discharge by the ACC of its important responsibilities. They have accepted this charge and have indicated their intention to strengthen the ACC.

Other detailed problems of coordination which arose from the ACC report and from the reports of the Specialized Agencies and the IAEA were discussed by the Council at its 32d session and suggested corrective action was proposed.

Increasing the Membership of the Functional Commissions

With the membership of the United Nations rising to 104 during 1961, it became imperative to create greater opportunities for participation in the economic, social and human rights activities of the United Nations. The most desirable procedure would have been to start with the enlargement of the Economic and Social Council itself. Because of the Soviet Union's intransigence, however, the enlargement of the Council does not appear to be possible in the foreseeable future (see pp. 201–202). The United States, therefore, took the initiative in proposing the enlargement of the functional commissions of the Council which since it does not require Charter amendment, could not be blocked by the Soviets. At the same time, the United States remains of the opinion that it is important not only from the point of view of the Economic and Social Council but particularly from the point of view of the new members, that the membership of the Council itself be enlarged.

The Social Commission and the Commission on the Status of Women both recommended to the Council that their memberships be enlarged in order to provide greater opportunities for participation by the enlarged membership of the United Nations. At the suggestion of the United States it was decided that not only the two functional

commissions that had made the request but all seven of the commissions should be increased. The Council, therefore, increased the memberships of the Commission on Human Rights, the Commission on the Status of Women, the Social Commission, and the Commission on International Commodity Trade from 18 to 21 members; and that of the Population and the Statistical Commissions from 15 to 18 members.

The Commission on Narcotic Drugs was increased from 15 to 21 members and provision was made for the membership of the entire Commission, beginning in 1963, to go on a rotating basis. Since the beginning of the Commission there had been 10 members with indefinite terms. In addition, it was recognized that certain non-U.N. members, particularly the Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland, have an interest in the work on the Narcotics Commission and its control functions. Therefore, provision was made for the membership of this Commission to be opened not only to members of the United Nations but also to any member of the Specialized Agencies.

The increases in memberships of the Commissions were called to the attention of all members of the United Nations, with a request that they indicate on which commissions they would be interested in serving. The elections took place at the resumed 32d session of the Council in December 1961.

PART III

Dependent Territories

The term "dependent territories" includes trust territories and other non-self-governing territories. Dependent territories are dealt with under chapters XI and XII respectively of the Charter of the United Nations. At the beginning of 1961 there were seven trust territories under the trusteeship system with a population of approximately 16 million. At the end of 1961, there remained five trust territories: Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands administered by the United States; Trust Territory of New Guinea administered by Australia; Trust Territory of Nauru administered by Australia for Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom; Trust Territory of Western Samoa administered by New Zealand (scheduled to gain independence January 1, 1962); and the Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi administered by Belgium. Together these trust territories have a population of over 6 million. In 1961 information was submitted to the United Nations on 54 non-self-governing territories (including 10 territories comprising The West Indies). These territories had a total population of approximately 35½ million. The following territories achieved independence during the period under review:

1. Sierra Leone . . . . . April 27, 1961
2. Nigeria . . . . . June 1, 1961
3. Northern British Cameroons* joined the Federation of Nigeria . . . . . June 1, 1961
4. Southern British Cameroons* joined the Republic of Cameroun which then became the Federal Republic of Cameroon . . . . . October 1, 1961
5. Tanganyika* . . . . . December 9, 1961

* Trust Territories

The functions of the United Nations with respect to trust territories are carried out through the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council or, in the case of a strategic trust territory, through the Security Council and the Trusteeship Council. An annual report is prepared by each Administering Authority for each trust territory and recommendations are made to assist in the advancement of the peoples in the educational, economic, social, and political fields. The termination of a trusteeship requires the consent of the General Assembly or, as appropriate, the Security Council.

The United States, Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain, and the United Kingdom reported on 54 territories classified as "non-self-governing." Under the "Declaration Regarding Non-Self-Governing Territories" (chapter XI of the Charter), these members of the United Nations transmit, for informational purposes, data on economic, social, and educational conditions.

The United Nations studies these annual reports in its Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, which makes general recommendations not directed to any specific territory.

The United States has responsibility for the following areas on which it reported in 1961: American Samoa, Guam, and the Virgin Islands, all of which are non-self-governing territories.

In addition to these U.N. activities, the United States participated in two regional Commissions—The Caribbean and the South Pacific Commissions. Neither of these regional commissions, which deal with economic, social, and cultural matters, is under the jurisdiction of the United Nations but both cooperate closely with the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies on regional and technical projects. In September 1961, the Caribbean Commission was succeeded by the Caribbean Organization with members from the local Caribbean governments.

TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

During 1961 the Trusteeship Council met in two sessions—11th special session, on April 10, and the 27th regular session, from June 1 to July 19.

U Tin Maung, the Representative of Burma and then Vice President of the Council, acted as President during the 11th special session and was elected President at the beginning of the 27th session. At the same time, Jonathan B. Bingham, the Representative of the United States, was elected Vice President.

During the 1961 sessions membership of the Trusteeship Council was as follows: Administering Members: Australia, Belgium, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States; Nonadministering Members: Bolivia, Burma, China, France, India, Paraguay, the U.S.S.R., and the United Arab Republic. The terms of Burma, Paraguay, and the United Arab Republic expired at the end of 1961.

The Council considered, during its 11th special session, conditions in the Cameroons under the administration of the United Kingdom and, during its 27th session, conditions in Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration; Tanganyika and Cameroons under U.K. administration; New Guinea under Australian administration; Nauru, ad-

ministered by Australia for Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom; Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands under U.S. administration; and Western Samoa under New Zealand administration. During the 27th session, the Council also considered the report of the U.N. Visiting Mission to the U.S.-administered Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. This Visiting Mission, composed of Representatives of Belgium, India, and the United Kingdom, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Carlos Salamanca of Bolivia, visited the Trust Territory between February 1 and March 15, 1961. Arrangements were also made to send a periodic visiting mission to the Trust Territories of Nauru and New Guinea in 1962.

In the course of its sessions in 1961, the Trusteeship Council made recommendations to the General Assembly based on plebiscites held in the British Cameroons under U.N. supervision. These recommendations led to termination of the trusteeship in the Territory on its attainment of independence by the northern part of the Territory joining Nigeria on June 1, 1961, and by the southern part joining the Republic of Cameroun on October 1, 1961, to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon.

Recommendations were also made by the Council to the General Assembly during 1961, which led to the independence of the Trust Territory of Tanganyika on December 9, 1961. The Council also recommended, on the basis of the plebiscite held in Western Samoa under U.N. supervision during May 1961, that Western Samoa become independent on January 1, 1962. The report of the Trusteeship Council for the period July 1, 1960–July 1, 1961, was considered in detail by the General Assembly during its 16th session in the fall of 1961, and resolutions were adopted concerning Ruanda-Urundi, British Cameroons, and Tanganyika.

A detailed discussion of Trusteeship Council and General Assembly action with respect to each of the trust territories is contained in the following sections.

Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, or Micronesia, consists of 96 distinct island units (2,141 individual islands), with a combined area of 687 square miles. They comprise three large groups: The Marianas (with the exception of Guam) in the north; the Carolines in the south; and the Marshalls in the east. The groups extend from latitude 1 degree to 20 degrees north and from longitude 130 degrees to 172 degrees east. They range over 3 million square miles of ocean and have a population of over 75,000. The islands were formerly a Japanese mandate under the League of Nations Mandates System.

The U.S. Government and the Security Council concluded an agreement on July 18, 1947, making the area a strategic trust territory under U.S. administration. The Caroline and Marshall Islands and Rota in the Marianas are administered by the Department of the Interior, while the Navy administers the rest of the Marianas group.

The former High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, Delmas H. Nucker, and the present High Commissioner, Wilfred Goding, both served the U.S. delegation as Special Representatives at the 27th session of the Trusteeship Council. In addition, Tosiwo Nakayama, President of the Truk District Congress, acted as a Special Adviser to the delegation. Mr. Nakayama made a fine statement regarding political and social development in his district and answered questions from members of the Council on conditions in the Territory. A U.N. Visiting Mission was in the Territory from February 1, 1961, to March 15, 1961, the longest period ever spent in the Pacific Islands by a Visiting Mission. The report of the Mission, while commenting favorably on various aspects of the U.S. administration, devoted a large part of the report to economic development and was at times quite critical of progress in this sphere. Questions asked by the various delegations at the 27th session of the Trusteeship Council tended to relate to the Visiting Mission report.

The Trusteeship Council considered that the foundations for political development had been well laid at the local and district level and recommended that the Administering Authority should, in consultation with representatives of the people, concentrate on accelerating development at the territorial level. The Council recognized the need for the early establishment of a territorial legislature and its value in stimulating a sense of unity in the Territory.

A request by the people of Saipan to join with Guam or to become a separate U.S. territory was much discussed. The general feeling of the Council was that the Territory should develop as a whole and in this regard it recalled its recommendation that the whole of the Territory be placed under a single civilian administration. The Special Representative, Wilfred Goding, announced to the Council that, following consideration of the matter at the highest level, the United States agreed in principle that the administration of the Territory should be unified and that steps to carry this out were being worked out.

The Council commended the Administering Authority on its efforts in training Micronesians to assume positions of greater responsibility in the administration and hoped that other posts such as District Administrator would be filled by Micronesians after suitable training. The Special Representative noted that the United States was in agreement with this thought. The problem was not one of seeking suitable candidates, but one of providing the opportunity for seasoning and

experience, which a District Administrator must have to do a good job. He assured the Council that Micronesians would be placed in senior positions as soon as they had this experience.

In the field of economic development the Council on the basis of the Visiting Mission's report recommended in particular that machinery for Territory-wide economic planning be set up under the direction of an Economic Development Officer; that a long-term plan with well-defined priorities and stages for the entire Territory should be prepared; and that substantial contributions to a fund for economic development should be made by the Administering Authority on a long-term basis.

The Council noted with satisfaction the statement of the Special Representative that the United States would give the most careful consideration to these recommendations and that action had already been taken on a number of recommendations of the Visiting Mission.

The Council commended the Administering Authority for its proposed Trust Territory School of Fisheries and a Trust Territory Farm Institute. It noted with appreciation the efforts of the Administering Authority in developing essential transportation facilities in the Territory and welcomed the addition of a new ship for field trips. The Council also commended the administration for its efforts in promoting education and in particular for the progress made in the field of primary education.

Trust Territory of New Guinea

Australia administers the Trust Territory of New Guinea, which includes the northeastern portion of the island of New Guinea, the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago, and the two northernmost islands of the Solomon group, Buka and Bougainville. This is an area of over 93,000 square miles with an approximate population of 1,326,000 indigenous inhabitants, 11,000 Europeans, and almost 4,000 Asians and people of mixed race. The Territory along with the neighboring Australian Territory of Papua is governed as an administrative union. The area presents formidable problems of administration. A rugged mountain range runs the length of the New Guinea mainland and dense tropical forests cover much of the lowlands. The area is inhabited by some of the most primitive peoples in the world. The island's people speak a variety of languages. The Administering Authority has not yet been able to bring certain remote areas completely under its control.

The Trusteeship Council during 1961 welcomed the advances made in the political, economic, social, and educational fields. It considered, however, that there should be a steady acceleration in the rate

of progress in all those fields and especially in the political field. It welcomed the establishment of an Administrator's Council but regretted that only one member was an indigenous inhabitant. The Council considered that the indigenous representation on the Administrator's Council and on other Councils should be increased.

The Council welcomed the recent reconstitution of the Legislative Council of Papua and New Guinea and noted with satisfaction that for the first time it has elected indigenous members. The Council hoped that growing political awareness in the Territory would enable women to play a larger role in the life of the Territory.

The Council displayed great interest in and some concern over the administration's land policies. In view of the need for maximum popular support for the administration's land policies, the Council regretted that the Administering Authority had not yet appointed a New Guinean to the Land Development Board. The Council viewed with concern the continued leasing for 99 years of large areas of land to nonindigenous persons. It recommended that the utmost care be exercised in this regard.

The Council noted with satisfaction that the Madang General Hospital has been opened and that two more are due for completion soon. The Trusteeship Council regretted that as yet no indigenous person has received a university education. The Council noted with satisfaction, however, the completion of the new secondary school at Rabaul and of four intermediate schools in the Territory.

At the 27th session of the Trusteeship Council it was decided to dispatch a Visiting Mission to the Territory early in 1962.

Trust Territory of Nauru

The Trust Territory of Nauru, under a trust agreement with the United Kingdom, New Zealand, and Australia, is administered by Australia on behalf of all three. It is a tiny isolated island lying near the Equator in the central Pacific Ocean. It has a population of 4,308 with a high literacy rate of over 90 percent. The economy is based on rich phosphate deposits. Since these deposits will be exhausted in less than 40 years at the present rate of extraction, the primary problem of the Territory is the future of the 2,158 indigenous members of the Nauruan community. A high standard of living has been achieved by the Nauruan people under the present conditions, but with the exhaustion of the phosphate deposits it will be extremely difficult to relocate these people in an area where their particular skills will enable them to enjoy an equally high standard of living.

Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom have proposed a solution to this difficult problem. The solution would involve a

gradual resettlement of the people of Nauru in Australia over a period of years with appropriate assistance in readjusting to life in Australia. The Head Chief of the Nauruan people has indicated that Nauruans wish to maintain their separate identity and wish to be relocated in a manner that would make this possible. The Council in noting that the Administering Authority would continue to explore the possibility of finding a suitable home for the Nauruan people, recommended that the Administering Authority bear in mind the need to maintain close cooperation with the Nauru Local Government Council.

The Trusteeship Council noted with regret that information furnished in the annual report on the operations of the British Phosphate Commissioners is not sufficiently comprehensive to enable the Council to determine whether the Nauruan people receive a fair and equitable share of the benefits from the phosphate industry and requested more comprehensive information in future reports. The Council noted with satisfaction the increase in the total royalty rate paid to the Nauruan land owners in connection with phosphate extraction which came into effect on July 1, 1960.

Trust Territory of Western Samoa

The Trust Territory of Western Samoa, administered by New Zealand, is the first of the Pacific territories to be destined for independence. A plebiscite was conducted under the supervision of a United Nations Plebiscite Commission on May 9, 1961. The results of this plebiscite clearly indicated the wish of the Samoan people to achieve independence. Eighty-three percent of those voting favored the adoption of the proposed constitution and 79 percent favored independence.

The 16th General Assembly, as a result of this plebiscite, voted unanimously to terminate the U.N. trusteeship in Western Samoa. The Territory will accede to independence on January 1, 1962.

In the resolution which provided for the termination of the trusteeship agreement, the General Assembly expressed the hope that Western Samoa would, upon attaining independence, be admitted to U.N. membership if it so desired. On this point the Prime Minister of Western Samoa, Fiame Mata'Afa, stated that his country would not apply for membership in the United Nations at once, but would seek membership in certain of the Specialized Agencies.

The Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi

The Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration is one of the most densely populated areas in Central Africa, with almost 5 million persons living in its 20,919 square miles. Both parts

of the Territory have been the scene of rapid change in the last 3 years as the Administering Authority has prepared the people for independence. In Ruanda the Parmehutu Party, favoring a republican form of government, was elected to office in September 1961, and the people in a referendum supervised by a U.N. Commission rejected both the institution of the monarchy and the person of the former ruler (Mwami). In Burundi, Uprona, a monarchist party, gained a surprising victory in the referendum conducted in that part of the Territory. Its program called for immediate independence and charged the Belgian administration with using opposing parties to prolong its hold on the country.

After discussions in which the Administering Authority made a number of statements and during which 21 petitioners were heard, the resumed session of the 15th General Assembly adopted, on April 21, 1961, resolution 1605. In this resolution the General Assembly indicated that it considered it necessary, pending the establishment of popular governments in the legislative elections, that broadly based caretaker governments be formed. It further recommended that a referendum be held in Ruanda on the question of retaining the Mwami and that legislative elections be held in August 1961 under the supervision of the United Nations. It recommended that these be organized by the Administering Authority in full consultation with the previously constituted U.N. Commission for Ruanda-Urundi.

Serious disorders and riots had begun in Ruanda in November 1959. Many of the leaders in these events had been imprisoned. It was the opinion of the General Assembly that persons imprisoned or in exile for acts which were essentially political in nature should be granted amnesty, and that the few remaining cases that the Administering Authority believed guilty of "very grave crimes" should be examined by a Special Commission composed of three U.N. member nations. This Commission, composed of Brazil, Canada, and Tunisia, met in Usumbura from 15 to 29 June 1961, and, after studying the files submitted to it, the Commission sent its recommendations to the Resident General. On the 24th of July a Legislative Ordinance was issued granting amnesty to 97 persons all but four of those whom the Commission had recommended for amnesty.

At its 27th session the Trusteeship Council was fully informed of the progress being made on the amnesty question and on the preparations for the legislative elections.

The U.N. Commission for Ruanda-Urundi composed of Haiti, Iran, and Togo, submitted its report on developments in the Territory and on the conduct of the legislative elections, held in September 1961, to the 16th General Assembly on November 30, 1961. This report, while praising the Belgian Government for its cooperation and recommend-

ing acceptance of the legislative elections, expressed certain reservations concerning those elections, especially in Ruanda.

No further action was taken during the first part of the 16th session of the General Assembly in regard to the question of the future of Ruanda-Urundi and discussion was postponed until the General Assembly's resumed 16th session in 1962.

British Cameroons

Both the Southern and Northern Cameroons under British administration achieved independence during 1961. Separate U.N.-supervised plebiscites were held in the two parts of the Trust Territory in accordance with previous General Assembly resolutions. The people were asked whether they wished to achieve independence by joining the Federation of Nigeria or by joining the Republic of Cameroun.

The results of the plebiscite held on February 11, 1961, in the Southern Cameroons showed that 29.51 percent of the votes favored independence by joining Nigeria and 70.49 percent favored gaining independence by joining the Republic of Cameroun. As a result, the Southern Cameroons, after working out suitable arrangements with the Republic of Cameroun, joined with that Government on October 1, 1961, to form the Federal Republic of Cameroon.

In a plebiscite held on February 11 and 12 in the Northern Cameroons, 40.03 percent of the votes were cast in favor of joining the Republic of Cameroun while 59.97 percent favored achieving independence by joining the Federation of Nigeria. As a consequence, the Northern Cameroons became a part of the Federation of Nigeria on June 1, 1961.

The General Assembly by its resolution of April 21, 1961, endorsed the results of the plebiscites contained in the report of the UN Plebiscite Commissioner, Dr. Djalal Abdoh, and agreed to terminate the Trusteeship Agreement for the Northern and Southern Cameroons on June 1, 1961, and October 1, 1961, respectively.

Tanganyika

On December 9, 1961—a few weeks earlier than originally scheduled—the Trust Territory of Tanganyika under U.K. administration became an independent state. In March of 1961 the Administering Authority had reported to the General Assemby that, following a constitutional conference held in Dar-es-Salaam that month, agreement had been reached between Representatives of the Governments of the United Kingdom, and Tanganyika that Tanganyika would become a fully independent state on December 28, 1961.

The General Assembly subsequently adopted a resolution which noted that the Administering Authority and the Government of Tanganyika had agreed that Tanganyika should become independent on December 28, 1961, and resolved that the Trusteeship Agreement for Tanganyika should cease to be in force upon the accession of that country to independence.

However, further action was taken by the General Assembly in a resolution of November 7, 1961, when it took note of the advancement of independence for Tanganyika to December 9, 1961. It resolved, in agreement with the Administering Authority, that the Trusteeship Agreement for Tanganyika would cease to be in force on December 9, 1961, and recommended that upon accession to independence Tanganyika be admitted to membership in the United Nations.

NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES OTHER THAN TRUST TERRITORIES

Chapter XI of the U.N. Charter establishes the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of the non-self-governing territories are paramount, and that the obligation to promote their well-being is a sacred trust. Moreover, the members of the United Nations administering such territories are obligated by the Charter to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitations as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories which they administer. The United States has made it a practice to transmit voluntarily political information on its territories, in addition to the technical information required, and the Netherlands, Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom have followed this example. All of the information transmitted by the administering states is summarized and analyzed by the Secretariat, and the Secretariat's summaries and analyses are studied and discussed in turn by the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, which reports to the General Assembly each year.

Committee on Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories

The Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories was first established as an *ad hoc* body in 1946, and has been in existence ever since with the matter of its continuance and terms of

reference being subject to review every 3 years. Under its terms of reference as fixed by the General Assembly it is intended that it be composed of those members of the United Nations transmitting information on non-self-governing territories, and an equal number of non-administering members. The latter are elected for 3-year terms by the Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories Committee of the General Assembly on behalf of the parent body. In 1961 the Committee actually consisted of eight elected members and seven administering members; since Portugal considers its overseas territories as parts of metropolitan Portugal and has not, therefore, participated in the Committee despite the fact that it was adjudged by the General Assembly in a resolution adopted during its 15th session to be a state which should transmit information. Spain joined the Committee for the first time in 1961. The elected members were Argentina, Ceylon, Dominican Republic, Ghana, India, Iraq, Liberia, and Mexico; the administering members being Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States. The Committee chairman this year was the Netherlands U.N. Representative, Ambassador C. W. A. Schurman.

Up to the present time the terms of reference of the Committee on Information have called for the submission to regular sessions of the General Assembly of reports containing such procedural recommendations as the Committee may deem fit to make, and such substantive recommendations as it may deem desirable relating to economic, educational, and social conditions in the territories, but not with respect to individual territories.

Generally speaking, the nonadministering members have favored the establishment of the Committee on a permanent basis and with broader terms of reference than the Committee now has, while several of the administering members have maintained that since the Committee is not provided for in the Charter it has, in principle, no right to exist. Certain of the administering members who have nonetheless cooperated with the Committee have made it clear that they are doing so only because the Committee's existence appears to reflect the will of the majority of the U.N. members, and on the condition that the Committee's terms of reference not be expanded. In the U.S. view, the Committee serves usefully as a forum for the study and discussion of conditions in the territories and as a meeting ground for an exchange of views between members which administer territories and those which do not. The United States, therefore, has supported its continuation. For a discussion of the future of the Committee see p. 317.

The Committee concentrates its efforts in annual rotation on educational, economic, and social conditions in the territories. During its 12th session in May 1961, it dealt primarily with social advance-

ment; a Subcommittee report on the subject having been prepared by the Representatives of Argentina, Ceylon, Liberia, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and New Zealand, under the chairmanship of the last named. The Subcommittee had considered various studies prepared by the U.N. Secretariat, the International Labor Organization, the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization, the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the World Health Organization (representatives of which participated in the Subcommittee debates), and also U.N. Secretariat summaries of the information transmitted by the several administering authorities on social conditions in their respective territories.

The general conclusions were to the effect that although basic social conditions had not significantly changed, the expansion of various public services, and the increasing participation of territorial inhabitants in the administration of these services and in the programs and activities concerned with their welfare, were indications of the advancement achieved by the governments and peoples of the territories.

The Committee, having unanimously adopted the report of the Subcommittee, submitted a resolution to the General Assembly to this effect. The General Assembly approved the resolution unanimously.

In addition to a general consideration of social conditions in the territories, the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories also discussed the preparation and training of indigenous civil and technical cadres, international collaboration and technical assistance, racial discrimination, and the question of the renewal of the Committee and its future work.

Resolutions on Non-Self-Governing Territories

On December 19, 1961, the Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories Committee of the General Assembly sent seven resolutions to the plenary meeting on matters relating to non-self-governing territories, all of which were adopted. One which was unanimously adopted, approved the report of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and requested the Secretariat to circulate it to all concerned. Another invited the administering members to take immediate steps in the territories which they administer to give the widest possible dissemination to the Declaration on Colonialism (a resolution adopted by the 15th General Assembly December 14, 1960, see p. 53) in the principal local languages, as well as the language of the Administering Authority; and requested the Secretariat to insure such dissemination with the cooperation of the Administering Authority. This resolution was also passed unanimously.

Another resolution adopted without dissent once again invited administering members to take all necessary measures to insure that

all scholarships and training facilities offered by member states are utilized by the inhabitants of the non-self-governing territories.

The General Assembly also approved unanimously a resolution urging the Administering Authorities to take immediately all necessary measures to increase the strength of indigenous civil service and technical cadres, and to accelerate their training in public administration and other technical skills; to take more extensive and expeditious measures toward replacement of expatriate personnel by indigenous officers, especially in positions of high administrative responsibility; and to make fuller use of the U.N. technical assistance program (see page 247) for training in public administration and related fields.

Another resolution adopted unanimously was one on racial discrimination. It condemned the policy and practice of racial discrimination and segregation; urged the Administering Authorities to revoke all laws and regulations which tend to encourage or sanction discriminatory policies, and make such punishable by law; and urged the Administering Authorities to extend full political rights, including the right to vote.

A strong resolution highly critical of Portugal (see page 53) was adopted by a vote of 90 (U.S.) to 3, with 2 abstentions. It condemned the continuing noncompliance by Portugal with its obligations under chapter XI of the Charter, and its refusal to cooperate in the work of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories; established a Special Committee of Seven to examine as a matter of urgency such information as was available concerning Portuguese territories and make recommendations to the General Assembly to assist it in the implementation of the Colonial Declaration (see page 53) in those Territories; requested the Secretary-General, pending the compliance by Portugal with its obligations under chapter XI, to prepare for the use of the Special Committee on the basis of available information, background papers on conditions prevailing in Portuguese territories; authorized the Special Committee to hear petitioners; requested member states to use their influence with Portugal to obtain compliance with the Charter obligations; and further requested member states to deny any support and assistance to Portugal which might be used for the suppression of the peoples of its non-self-governing territories. Although the United States voted in favor of this resolution as a whole the U.S. delegation unsuccessfully proposed an amendment to change the word "condemns" to "regrets" and otherwise reserved its position on parts of the resolution not considered accurate. Bulgaria, Ceylon, Cyprus, Colombia, Guatemala, Guinea, and Nigeria were later elected to the Special Committee of Seven.

On the question of the renewal of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, the General Assembly decided,

by a vote of 77 (U.S.) to 0, with 16 abstentions to: (1) continue the Committee until such time as the Assembly decided that the principles embodied in chapter XI and the Declaration on Colonialism had been fully implemented; (2) authorize the Committee to examine and report on the political and constitutional information transmitted by the Administering Authorities; (3) instruct the Committee to undertake intensive studies of political, educational, economic, and social conditions and problems of territories located in the same area or region, except where circumstances require individual consideration; and (4) instruct the Committee to invite the cooperation of the Special Committee of Seven for the Portuguese territories. In addition, the General Assembly requested the Committee to transmit to the Special Committee of Seventeen (appointed to look into the implementation of the Declaration on Colonialism) any reports which would assist that Committee in the discharge of its functions.

The General Assembly elected Ecuador, Pakistan, Philippines, and Upper Volta to fill the vacancies on the Committee on Information caused by the expiration of the terms of the Dominican Republic, Ghana, India, and Iraq.

SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMS

The U.N. program for scholarships for students from Trust Territories was initiated by a 6th General Assembly resolution of January 18, 1952. By this resolution, as well as by a resolution of December 9, 1953, adopted by the Assembly during its 8th session, the General Assembly invited member states to make available scholarships and fellowships to students from Trust Territories. Each year the U.S. Government supplies the Secretary-General with data on the scholarships it offers to Trust Territory students.

Early in 1961 the U.S. Government informed the Secretary-General that seven scholarships would be made available to Trust Territory students for the 1961–62 academic year. Four of these were earmarked for students from the African Trust Territories and three to students from the Pacific Territories. Eight Trust Territory students from previous years received scholarship renewals during 1961.

In a resolution of November 22, 1954, adopted during its 9th session, the General Assembly invited member states to extend to inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories offers of study and training. The United States has regularly supplied the Secretary-General with information on the scholarships made available by the U.S. Government to inhabitants of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

In August 1961 the U.S. Government informed the Secretary-General that, in accordance with the above mentioned resolution adopted by the General Assembly during its 9th session, 122 scholarships were awarded to students from Non-Self-Governing Territories during the 1960–61 academic year. Forty-four of these grants were awarded for university study, 23 for teaching or teaching development, one for research, 24 for practical experience and training, and 30 for observation and consultation. Of the 122 students, 82 came from Africa, 19 from the Caribbean, 11 from Singapore, 2 from Hong Kong, 1 each from North Borneo and Sarawak, 3 from Aden, 2 from St. Helena, and 1 from Malta. In addition, grants awarded in previous years to 39 students from Non-Self-Governing Territories were renewed during 1960.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

During 1961, in both its resumed 15th and its 16th sessions, the General Assembly was again seized of the question of the Territory of South-West Africa. This pre-World War I German colony, placed under mandate to South Africa, is the only mandated territory which has not either achieved independence or been placed under the U.N. trusteeship system. The International Court of Justice held in 1950 that the mandate continued in force and that South Africa still had international obligations for the administration of the Territory. The Court also held that the General Assembly was legally qualified to exercise the supervisory functions previously carried out by the League of Nations with regard to the administration of South-West Africa.

In the spring of 1961 the resumed 15th General Assembly adopted two resolutions on South-West Africa. The first of these resolutions, 1593 (XV), appealed to those U.N. members having "particularly close and continuous relations with the Goverment of the Union of South Africa to bring, as a matter of urgency, all their influence to bear on that Government with a view to ensuring" that it would adjust its conduct to its Charter obligations and give effect to the Assembly's resolutions. This resolution was adopted on March 16, 1961, by a vote of 74 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions.

The second resolution, 1596(XV), adopted at the resumed session was the result of the lack of success in carrying out resolution 1568(XV) adopted by the General Assembly in December 1960. Resolution 1568 had, *inter alia*, invited the U.N. Committee on South West Africa to carry out an investigative mission in the Terri-

tory. The South African Government, however, refused to agree to admit the Committee to South-West Africa. The 1961 resolution noted with regret that the South African Government had refused to cooperate with the Committee and, *inter alia*, requested the Committee to proceed with its investigation "with the cooperation of the Government of the Union of South Africa if such cooperation is available, and without it if necessary." This resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on April 7, 1961, by a vote of 83 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions.

As the South African Government again refused to admit the Committee on South West Africa to the Mandated Territory the Committee was compelled to confine its activities to obtaining in other African countries information on the situation in South-West Africa. These investigations were carried out between June 20 and July 12 in Accra, Dar-es-Salaam, and Cairo.

The 16th General Assembly received two reports from the Committee on South West Africa: the first was a special report on its investigative mission; the second, its regular report on conditions in the Territory.

On December 19, 1961, the 16th session of the General Assembly adopted another resolution 1702(XVI) on the question of South-West Africa by a vote of 90 (U.S.) to 1 (Portugal), with 4 (Australia, France, Spain, U.K.) abstentions. In the preambular paragraphs of this resolution the General Assembly, *inter alia*, noted with approval the special report of the Committee on South West Africa; noted that the South African Government had prevented the Committee on South West Africa from entering the Mandated Territory; and noted that the conditions and events in South-West Africa create "an increasingly explosive situation which, if allowed to continue, will endanger international peace and security." The operative portion of this resolution, *inter alia*, proclaimed "the inalienable right of the people of South-West Africa to independence and national sovereignty." It established a seven-member U.N. Special Committe on South West Africa to be nominated by the President of the General Assembly to achieve, in consultation with the South African Government, the following: (1) a visit to South-West Africa before May 1, 1962; (2) evacuation of all South African military forces from the Territory; (3) release of all political prisoners; (4) repeal of *apartheid* laws; (5) preparation for democratic general elections to the Legislative Assembly; (6) assistance to the Government resulting from the elections; (7) coordination of assistance to be provided by the U.N. Specialized Agencies; and (8) the return to the Territory of indigenous inhabitants without risk of imprisonment or punishment. The Special Committe on South West Africa was also

requested to discharge the tasks entrusted to the Committee on South West Africa under a resolution adopted by the General Assembly November 28, 1953. (This earlier resolution had established the procedure for the Committee of South West Africa to review reports and petitions concerning its Territory.) The General Assembly further called the Security Council's attention to resolution 1702. It urged the South African Government to cooperate with the Special Committee and requested the Committee to keep the Security Council and other U.N. bodies informed of its activities and "of any difficulties which it may encounter."

During the debate in the General Assembly's Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories Committee the United States proposed a number of amendments to this resolution. The United States proposed that the resolution charge the Special Committee with the task of achieving the repeal "of all other laws and regulations which establish and maintain the intolerable system of apartheid." In addition, it proposed the addition of a subparagraph charging the Special Committee to bring about the return to South-West Africa of indigenous inhabitants without risk of imprisonment or punishment. These two amendments were accepted by the sponsors and became a part of the resolution as adopted by the Assembly. While other U.S. amendments were not found acceptable by the Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories Committee their discussion resulted in several changes in the text which made the resolution more factual and accurate.

Three other resolutions on South-West Africa were adopted by the General Assembly on December 19, 1961. One resolution 1703 (XVI)—adopted without objection—concerned petitions relating to the Mandated Territory. It noted "with the deepest disappointment and regret" the policy and method pursued by the South African Government in its administration of the Territory and called upon it immediately to desist from further acts of force designed to suppress political movements or enforce *apartheid* in South-West Africa, to refrain from prosecution of Africans on political grounds, and to insure the free exercise of political rights for all sections of the population.

The second resolution, 1704 (XVI), which was adopted unanimously, dissolved the Committee on South West Africa since its functions were assumed by the U.N. Special Committee on South West Africa.

The final resolution established a special educational and training program for indigenous inhabitants of South-West Africa. The resolution invited the U.N. Specialized Agencies to offer assistance, facilities, and resources to South-West Africa and invited member states

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to make scholarships available. This resolution was adopted by a vote of 94 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention.

In the discussion of the question of South-West Africa, in the Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories Committee, Eric H. Louw, South African Foreign Minister, stated that his Government intended to invite three past Presidents of the General Assembly to visit the Mandated Territory in their personal capacities "to see for themselves whether there exists any threat to international peace and security, or whether there is any truth in the allegations relating to military terrorization, the existence of an explosive situation and planned extermination. . . ." In a later statement Mr. Louw proposed that the three past Presidents be selected in agreement with the President of the General Assembly.

A resolution introduced in the Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories Committee by Sweden took account of this proposed investigation but went somewhat further than Mr. Louw's proposal and stipulated that any such investigating body should (1) be nominated by the President of the General Assembly in consultation with the South African Government; (2) have wider terms of reference; (3) be permitted to hear evidence from any inhabitants of the Territory who wished to be heard; and (4) report to the General Assembly and the Mandatory Power. The Swedish resolution also recommended that the Special Committee on South West Africa take into account the report made by any investigating body set up as a result of Foreign Minister Louw's proposal together with the judgment rendered by the International Court of Justice in the pending case. The United States gave strong support to this resolution, but it failed of passage having received a vote in the Trusteeship and Non-Self-Governing Territories Committee of 26 to 41, with 26 abstentions.

WORK OF THE REGIONAL COMMISSIONS

The United States participated in 1961 in the work of two non-United Nations regional Commissions—the Caribbean Organization and the South Pacific Commission. On June 21, 1960, the Governments of France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States had signed at Washington an Agreement for the Establishment of the Caribbean Organization. This became the successor body to the Caribbean Commission in 1961. The Caribbean Organization is an advisory and consultative body to the governments of the Caribbean area concerning economic, social, and cultural matters. Similarly, the South Pacific Commission is also concerned with economic, social, and cultural matters.

Caribbean Organization

The establishment of the Caribbean Organization is the direct result of requests from Caribbean peoples for increased responsibility in solving their own regional problems. The unique feature of this Organization is that membership is open to local non-independent Caribbean governments. It is open to the Bahamas, British Guiana, the British Virgin Islands, the Netherlands Antilles, Surinam, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the U.S. Virgin Islands, the West Indies and to France for the Departments of French Guiana, Guadeloupe and Martinique. Participation by the Governments of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico and of the Virgin Islands was authorized by Public Law 87–73, 87th Congress, approved June 30, 1961. Approximately 7,400,000 inhabitants live in the area covered by the Commission's activities.

Each member country is entitled to send to each meeting of the Organization one delegate and as many advisers as it considers necessary. The United States is represented by an Observer. The principal functions of the Organization are to:

(1) Study, formulate and recommend programs and courses of action in economic, social and cultural matters which will contribute to the well-being of the Caribbean area;

(2) Assist in coordinating local projects of regional significance;

(3) Arrange for or provide technical assistance;

(4) Promote the coordination of research on a regional basis;

(5) Further cooperation with other international and national organizations, with universities and foundations and;

(6) Summon and appoint committees.

The last meeting of the former Caribbean Commission was held on September 5, 1961, at which time its assets and liabilities were handed over to its successor, the Caribbean Organization. The governing body of the Caribbean Organization is the Council. This body held its first meeting at the headquarters of the Organization in San Juan, P.R., September 6–15, 1961. Each member is entitled to send one delegate and as many advisers to the Council as it considers necessary. During this meeting a budget of $387,582 for the first full year of its operation was voted by the Council. It established rules and procedures to convene its meetings and subsidiary bodies; elected C. F. Beauregard as its first Secretary General and selected San Juan as its headquarters. It unanimously adopted a resolution which established the "Caribbean Plan" for the cooperative economic, social, and cultural development of the region. Patterned after the Colombo Plan, the Caribbean Plan will coordinate the economic development plans of the member countries, facilitate cooperation among these

countries on projects of regional significance, promote the development of projects of mutual assistance between countries, assist in economic and cultural exchanges and help to obtain the most efficient utilization of resources within the region. The Council created to assist it: a Standing Advisory Committee and three specialized committees on agriculture, fisheries and cooperatives to advise in these specific fields.

South Pacific Commission

The South Pacific Commission is composed of Representatives of Australia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States. It is assisted by a South Pacific Research Council and a regional conference of local representatives, the South Pacific Conference, which meets once every 3 years.

The 22d session of the South Pacific Commission was held at its headquarters in Nouméa, New Caledonia, October 12–25, 1961. An intensified work program in economic and social development and public health was adopted. Several practical training courses and technical meetings at the regional and subregional levels were also held in 1961. In conjunction with the U.N. Secretariat's Bureau of Technical Assistance Operations, a subregional fisheries training course was conducted in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate emphasizing the growing recognition of the need for training in extension methods. A technical meeting for senior territorial agricultural extension officers was held at Rabaul with the assistance of the Food and Agriculture Organization. A Woman's Interests project, which was launched in 1959 with a generous grant of funds from the United Church Women of the United States, was highlighted in 1961 with the convening of a Women's Interests Training Seminar in Apia, Western Samoa. Recommendations were made for the more active participation of women in this developing area in the fields of community development, education and civic responsibility.

The technique of convening subregional study groups has been designed by the Commission to associate the peoples of the area more closely with its work, and to enable them to study their own problems under the guidance of the Commission. The first such subregional study group was held at Port Moresby in 1961 and dealt with the subject of "The Problems of Youth in Urban Communities." The Commission decided also to establish an Organization Research Information Center at its headquarters, as a result of a meeting of its Urbanization Committee held at Honolulu during the summer of 1961.

The coconut industry both in terms of research and development continued to receive major emphasis during the year. Research on the control of the destructive pest—the rhinoceros beetle—was once

more a major item in the work program. The Commission sent its entomologist to East Africa to find other insects which might be used in the control of the beetle. Financial support was continued to foundations and institutions in the South Pacific area in connection with research programs on the improvement of the coconut palm.

Health education of the public was intensified by the appointment of a second health educator, and by the convening of a conference of Directors of Territorial Health Services at Nouméa on the general theme of health education. A 6 weeks refresher course for assistant medical practitioners was held at Apia jointly by the Commission and the World Health Organization.

The Commission made provision for the continued participation in its activities by Western Samoa when it obtains independence on January 1, 1962.

PART IV

Legal and Constitutional Developments

Legal or constitutional considerations are relevant to a substantial portion of the work of the United Nations, and these considerations are discussed in other parts of this report in connection with the underlying issues to which they relate. However, because of their essentially legal character, part IV considers separately the activities of the International Court of Justice, the International Law Commission, and the Legal Committee of the U.N. General Assembly.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

The International Court of Justice is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It functions in accordance with its Statute which is an integral part of the Charter of the United Nations. The Court sits at The Hague, Netherlands.

On April 5, 1961, the Registrar of the Court, M. J. Garnier-Coignet, issued a communique stating that the Court had elected as its President Judge Winiarski of Poland who has been a member of the tribunal since its creation in 1946. The Court elected as its Vice President Judge Alfaro of Panama who was elected to the Court in 1959. The Court also elected the following judges as members of its chamber of summary procedure, in accordance with articles 26 and 29 of its Statute: Alfaro (Panama), Badawi (U.A.R.), Moreno Quintana (Argentina), Spender (Australia), and Winiarski (Poland), and, as substitute members, Koo (China), and Cordova (Mexico).

In 1961 the International Court of Justice rendered one judgment. In addition to the two contentious cases already before the Court, one new such case and one request for an advisory opinion were submitted to the Court. At the end of 1961 the Court's docket contained three contentious cases and one advisory opinion proceeding.

Contentious Cases

Temple of Preah Vihear (*Cambodia* v. *Thailand*)

On October 6, 1959, Cambodia filed an application instituting proceedings against Thailand concerning a dispute over the ruins of the Temple of Preah Vihear. Cambodia asked the Court to declare that Thailand had an obligation to cease its armed occupation of the temple, which had begun in 1954, and to find that territorial sovereignty over the temple belonged to Cambodia.

Cambodia's application invoking the jurisdiction of the Court was based first and primarily upon the combined effect of Cambodia's 1957 acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice coupled with Thailand's 1950 acceptance of this jurisdiction. Secondly, Cambodia relied upon settlement of disputes provisions contained in certain Franco-Siamese treaties.

Thailand submitted preliminary objections to the jurisdiction of the Court. It asserted that the 1950 Thai declaration accepting compulsory jurisdiction, which purported to renew its 1929 declaration of acceptance, was ineffective *ab initio*, and that, as a consequence, Thailand had never accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court.

The Court delivered its judgment on these preliminary objections on May 26, 1961. It held, unanimously, that the Court had jurisdiction to adjudicate upon the substance of the dispute by virtue of the 1950 Thai declaration.

Thailand's declaration of May 20, 1950 read as follows:

> I have the honor to inform you [the Secretary-General of the United Nations] that by a declaration dated September 20, 1929, His Majesty's Government had accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice . . . for a period of ten years and on condition of reciprocity. That declaration has been renewed on May 3, 1940, for another period of ten years.
>
> In accordance with the provisions of Article 39, paragraph 4, of the Statute of the International Court of Justice, I have now the honour to inform you that His Majesty's Government hereby renew the declaration above mentioned for a further period of ten years as from May 3, 1950, with the limits and subject to the same conditions and reservations as set forth in the first declaration of September 20, 1929.

Thailand fully admitted that it had intended to make a valid acceptance of compulsory jurisdiction, but it contended that this declaration was invalid in view of the Court's decision of May 26, 1959, in the Aerial Incident of July 27, 1955 Case (*Israel* v. *Bulgaria*). That case concerned the meaning of article 36, paragraph 5, of the Statute of the Court, a clause which provides that:

> Declarations made under Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and which are still in force shall be deemed, as

between the parties to the present Statute, to be acceptances of the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice for the period which they still have to run and in accordance with their terms.

In the Aerial Incident Case, the Court had held, first, that this provision of the Statute applied solely to the original parties to the U.N. Charter and Statute of the International Court of Justice, signed at San Francisco on June 26, 1945; it had noted, second, that Bulgaria had not become a member of the United Nations and a party to the Statute of the Court until some 10 years later; and it found, as a result, that Bulgaria's 1921 acceptance of the compulsory jurisdiction of the former Permanent Court of International Justice had lapsed in April 1946 when the Permanent Court was abolished and the new International Court of Justice came into being.

In the Temple Case, Thailand pointed out that it had originally accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court in 1929 and had renewed that acceptance in 1940 for a 10-year period. Like Bulgaria, Thailand became a member of the United Nations and a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice only after the dissolution of the Permanent Court. Therefore, Thailand argued, its 1940 declaration must have lapsed on the dissolution of the Permanent Court. If this were the case, then Thailand's "renewal" of its declaration in 1950 was without any effect whatsoever since a lapsed submission to the compulsory jurisdiction of the nonexistent Permanent Court could hardly be given any legal consequence.

The Court rejected these arguments. It first noted that its decision in the Aerial Incident Case bound only Israel and Bulgaria, the parties to that case. Next it emphasized the lack of analogy between the situation of Bulgaria and that of Thailand. Bulgaria had accepted only the compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court; after the lapse of its 1921 declaration, it had never attempted to make any acceptance or "renewal" of acceptance with regard to the present Court. On the contrary, Thailand had by an affirmative act purported to "renew" its declaration on May 20, 1950, some 14 days following the expiration by its own terms of Thailand's 1940 renewal. During those 2 weeks, Thailand was completely free from the Court's compulsory jurisdiction. The carryover provision of article 36(5) of the Court's Statute was not relevant to Thailand's 1950 "renewal" since that provision operated only upon such declarations as were "in force" with regard to the Permanent Court.

The question before the Court was, then, whether the 1950 Thai declaration revealed a clear intention to recognize as compulsory the jurisdiction of the Court. Obviously, Thailand knew that the Permanent Court had long since been abolished, and it could not, therefore, have intended to accept the jurisdiction of a defunct court.

Its 1950 declaration, addressed to the Secretary-General, could have related only to the present Court. The reference in that declaration to Thailand's 1920 and 1940 declarations must have been exclusively for the convenient method of indicating, without restating them, the conditions upon which the 1950 declaration was made; for example, that a dispute could be adjudicated by the Court only when the parties to the dispute could not agree upon other means of pacific settlement.

The Court also noted that its Statute did not provide for any particular manner in which a declaration accepting compulsory jurisdiction was to be made, apart from the formality of depositing the declaration with the Secretary-General. The fact that Thailand's declaration took the form of a "renewal" was of little importance in the face of the clear Thai intention to accept compulsory jurisdiction.

For these reasons the Court ruled on May 26, 1961, that it had jurisdiction to adjudicate upon the merits of the dispute upon the basis of the Cambodian and Thai acceptances. It thus became unnecessary to rule upon the secondary Cambodian founding of jurisdiction upon Franco-Siamese agreements.

Judges Alfaro, Fitzmaurice, Koo, Spender, and Tanaka appended declarations to the opinion of the Court, agreeing with its conclusion but indicating disagreement with the earlier decision in the Aerial Incident Case. Judge Morelli also agreed with the conclusion reached by the Court but appended a statement of his separate opinion. Judge Jessup of the United States did not participate in the decision because he had, before his election to the Court, rendered legal advice to one of the parties.

Following the decision, and also on May 26, 1961, the Court fixed time limits for the filing of briefs on the merits of the territorial question, the latest of which is February 2, 1962, for the filing of the Thai rejoinder. It is anticipated that an oral argument will be presented in 1962.

South-West Africa Cases (*Ethiopia* v. *South Africa; Liberia* v. *South Africa*)

On November 4, 1960, Ethiopia and Liberia instituted independent proceedings against the then Union of South Africa. They referred disputes to the Court relating to the Union's compliance, in its administration of South-West Africa, with its international obligations under the 1920 Mandate for South-West Africa and the U.N. Charter. The Ethiopian and Liberian applications relied upon the settlement of disputes provision of article 7 of the 1920 Mandate and article 37 of the Court's Statute, and referred to article 80, paragraph 1, of the U.N. Charter.

On May 20, 1961, the Court found that the applications and memorials submitted by Ethiopia and Liberia came to the same conclusion and made essentially the same submissions, and, consequently, these two states were parties in the same interest. Accordingly, the Court joined the two proceedings and fixed December 15, 1961, as the time limit within which the two states, acting in concert, could choose a judge *ad hoc* to sit on the bench in the united proceeding.

On December 5, 1961, the Court took note of certain preliminary objections to its jurisdiction filed by South Africa, suspended the proceedings on the merits, and fixed March 1, 1962, as the time limit for Ethiopia and Liberia to submit their written observations and submissions on the South African jurisdictional objections.

Case Concerning the Northern Cameroons (*Cameroun* v. *United Kingdom*)

On May 30, 1961, the Republic of Cameroun referred to the Court a dispute with the United Kingdom relating to the United Kingdom's compliance, in regard to its former administration of the Northern Cameroons (now a semiautonomous part of the Federation of Nigeria), with the 1946 United Kingdom-United Nations Trusteeship Agreement for the Trust Territory of the Cameroons. Cameroun relied upon a settlement of disputes provision of the 1946 Agreement as giving jurisdiction to the Court.

On November 2, 1961, the Court fixed January 3, 1962, as the time limit for the filing of the Cameroun memorial and May 2, 1962, for the filing of the U.K. countermemorial.

Case Concerning the Barcelona Traction, Light & Power Co., Ltd. (*Belgium* v. *Spain*)

On September 23, 1958, Belgium instituted proceedings in the Court against Spain concerning a dispute over the treatment by Spanish authorities of a partly Belgian-owned Canadian corporation which had resulted in adjudication by Spanish courts of corporate bankruptcy and the subsequent liquidation of the corporation for the alleged benefit of a Spanish national. Belgium claimed that the Court had jurisdiction by reason of article 36(1) of the Court's Statute and a 1927 Belgian-Spanish Agreement containing a settlement of disputes provision.

On April 10, 1961, the Court announced the receipt of a letter from the agent for Belgium stating that Belgium was not going on with the proceeding. It further noted that Spain had not opposed this discontinuance, and, as a result the Court ordered the removal of the case from the Court's List.

Advisory Opinion Proceedings

Financial Obligations of Members of the United Nations

On December 20, 1961, the 16th General Assembly of the United Nations adopted resolution 1731 (XVI) which submitted to the Court for an advisory opinion the question whether General Assembly assessments on states members of the United Nations for the expenses involved in United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC) and the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) create binding international legal obligations upon members to make payment therefor. The material part of the text of this resolution reads as follows:

> Do the expenditures authorized in General Assembly resolutions 1583 (XV) and 1590 (XV) of 20 December 1960, 1595 (XV) of 3 April 1961, 1619 (XV) of 21 April 1961 and 1633 (XVI) of 30 October 1961 relating to the United Nations operations in the Congo undertaken in pursuance of the Security Council resolutions of 14 July, 22 July and 9 August 1960 and 21 February and 24 November 1961, and General Assembly resolutions 1474 (ES–IV) of 20 September 1960 and 1599 (XV), 1600 (XV) and 1601 (XV) of 15 April 1961, and the expenditures authorized in General Assembly resolutions 1122 (XI) of 26 November 1956, 1089 (XI) of 21 December 1956, 1090 (XI) of 27 February 1957, 1151 (XII) of 22 November 1957, 1204 (XII) of 13 December 1957, 1337 (XIII) of 13 December 1958, 1441 (XIV) of 5 December 1959 and 1575 (XV) of 20 December 1960 relating to the operations of the United Nations Emergency Force undertaken in pursuance of General Assembly resolutions 997 (ES–I) of 2 November 1956, 998 (ES–I) and 999 (ES–I) of 4 November 1956, 1000 (ES–I) of 5 November 1956, 1001 (ES–I) of 7 November 1956, 1121 (XI) of 24 November 1956 and 1263 (XIII) of 14 November 1958, constitute "expenses of the Organization" within the meaning of Article 17, paragraph 2, of the Charter of the United Nations?

For a discussion of the U.S. position with regard to this resolution, see page 347.

On December 27, 1961, the Court, in accordance with article 66, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the Court, fixed February 20, 1962, as the time limit within which written statements could be submitted by members of the United Nations on this question. Oral hearings are expected to take place before the Court in the spring of 1962. The United States will participate in both the written and oral phases of this proceeding.

INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION

The International Law Commission was established by the General Assembly in 1947 by resolution 174 (II) and has as its function the promotion of the progressive development of international law and its codification.

The 13th session of the International Law Commission was held at Geneva May 1–July 7, 1961. Grigory I. Tunkin (Soviet Union) was elected Chairman; Roberto Ago (Italy) and Eduardo Jiménez de Aréchaga (Uruguay) were elected Vice Chairmen; and Ahmed Matine-Daftary (Iran) was elected Rapporteur, each for a 1-year term. While the members of the Commission are initially elected by the General Assembly, vacancies arising during the 5-year term of office are, pursuant to article 11 of the Statute of the Commission, filled by the Commission itself. The Commission elected André Gros (France), Senjin Tsuruoka (Japan), and Sir Humphrey Waldock (U.K.) to fill the vacancies caused by the death of Georges Scelle (France), the resignation of Kisaburo Yokota (Japan), and the election of Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice (U.K.) to the International Court of Justice.

The Commission devoted the principal portion of its session to the preparation of the final text of articles on consular intercourse and immunities. This text, consisting of 71 substantive articles and a preamble, was reviewed by the Commission in the light of comments submitted by states with regard to the provisions of its 1960 draft text, and of the decisions taken at the Vienna Conference on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities held in March 1961. In view of the close relationship between diplomatic and consular relations, it was considered appropriate that any convention on consular relations be fully compatible with the 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations.

Although the 15th General Assembly resolution 1505 (XV), which placed on the provisional agenda of the 16th General Assembly the question of "future work in the field of codification and progressive development of international law," had not specifically requested the International Law Commission to comment on this subject, the statements of a number of representatives, prior to the adoption of that resolution, made clear that the views of the Commission would be welcomed. Several meetings of the Commission were devoted to a discussion of its future work program. Without attempting to summarize the results of this discussion in detail, it may be said that the Commission was generally of the view that its efforts should, in the near future, be concerned with the preparation of texts relating to the law of treaties and the law of state responsibility. A number of the members of the Commission also favored the early completion of a text on the law relating to the succession of states and governments. With regard to the principles guiding the selection of future topics, it was generally considered that the Commission should be asked to undertake topics of universal (rather than limited or regional) importance, on which there existed substantial state practice to serve as

the basis of the Commission's work, and that these topics should not overlap with those undertaken by other international organs. While recognizing that almost every topic of international law possesses political implications, it was felt that the Commission should not be asked to resolve controversies of a primarily political character.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY LEGAL COMMITTEE

The Legal Committee is one of the seven main committees of the General Assembly on which each of the members of the United Nations is entitled to be represented. At the beginning of the Assembly's 16th session, the Legal Committee elected as its officers César Quintero of Panama, Chairman; Endre Ustor of Hungary, Vice Chairman; and Mustafa Kamil Yasseen of Iraq as Rapporteur. The Committee's agenda for the 16th session comprised the following items: (1) enlargement of the International Law Commission, (2) 13th report of the International Law Commission, (3) future work of the United Nations in the field of international law, and (4) question of special diplomatic missions.

Enlargement of the International Law Commission

When the International Law Commission was originally established in 1947, it consisted of 15 members serving in their private capacities as experts. In 1956 its membership was increased to 21. Between 1956 and 1961 more than 20 new states were admitted to membership in the United Nations, almost all of which were from the African Continent below the Sahara. The civilizations and legal systems of these states were not represented on the Commission which, according to its Statute, is to reflect the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems. Indeed, there was in effect for the last election of members to the Commission in 1956 an informal gentlemen's agreement which provided that the 21 seats on the Commission were to be allocated as follows:

Permanent members of the Security Council	5
Latin America	4
Alternating seat between Latin America and Old Commonwealth (Australia, Canada, New Zealand)	1
Western Europe	4
Eastern Europe	2
Africa and Asia	5
Total	21

In view of the deficiency in the composition of the Commission, the United States took the initiative of requesting the inclusion of an item on the agenda of the 16th General Assembly entitled "Enlargement of the International Law Commission." The Assembly decided to inscribe the item and it was subsequently referred to the Legal Committee for discussion. The timing of this initiative was appropriate because the Assembly during its 16th session was required to elect the full membership of the Commission, the terms of the previous members having expired.

On October 4 the United States, together with Cameroon, Colombia, Japan, Liberia, Nigeria, Sweden and, subsequently, India, tabled a draft resolution amending the Statute of the Commission so as to increase its membership by two seats, to a total of 23. Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton, the U.S. Representative, introduced this resolution in the Legal Committee on the same date by referring to the fact that:

> Of the twenty-one new States which have become Members of the United Nations since 1956, nineteen are from the central and southern region of the African continent. Yet no person from that area is presently a member of the Commission. It is obviously of common concern to all of us that this deficiency be corrected. . . .

The U.S. initiative was welcomed but was thought by some Asian and African states to be inadequate. Ethiopia and seven other states tabled a competing draft resolution increasing the size of the Commission by four seats. The Soviet bloc, for its part, insisted that it was "under-represented" on the Commission and demanded an additional allocation of at first two seats and later one seat. This demand was resisted by the United States, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, and others who emphasized the fact that the bloc already had three seats under the 1956 gentlemen's agreement which was more than equitable since at that time the bloc comprised only nine of the more than one hundred U.N. members.

The situation in the Legal Committee was complicated by the fact that the new African and Asian states quite properly took the position that they could not be "bound" by the 1956 agreement, although they were, of course, quite free to cast their votes in the election of Commission members in accordance with its allocation of seats. In addition, certain non-bloc states suggested that the Soviet bloc should be allocated an additional seat on the Commission because of the importance and achievements of the Soviet Union and the "Western orientation of the Commission's membership as a whole." The United States and the other cosponsors were eventually able to reach a suitable compromise whereby, first, four new seats would be added to the Commission; and, second, no attempt would be made to alter the 1956 agreement allocating 21 of the resulting 25 seats, although of course

states which were not parties to that agreement would be free to vote as they wished. The Committee then approved unanimously a draft resolution adding four seats which was unanimously adopted by the General Assembly on November 6, as resolution 1647 (XVI). The resolution also contained a provision, proposed by Upper Volta and others, which sensibly extended the time limit within which states could make new nominations of candidates for the forthcoming elections.

In the meantime, the Soviet Union and its supporters violently denounced the 1956 gentlemen's agreement as "unjust" and "imperialist," while the United States strongly contended for its fairness and continuing validity. The test of that validity came and was fully met in the elections to the International Law Commission which were held in the General Assembly on November 28. The U.S. candidate for election to the Commission, Herbert Briggs, who is the distinguished editor-in-chief of the *American Journal of International Law* and professor of international law at Cornell University, received 90 of a possible 102 votes. The Soviet bloc failed to gain an additional seat. The Commission, as thus constituted by the Assembly, consists for the next 5 years of the following persons: Messrs. Ago (Italy), Amado (Brazil), Bartos (Yugoslavia), Briggs (U.S.), Cadieux (Canada), Castren (Finland), El-Erian (U.A.R.), Elias (Nigeria), Gros (France), Jiménez de Aréchaga (Uruguay), Kanga (Cameroon), Lachs (Poland), Liu (China), Luna García (Spain), Padilla-Nervo (Mexico), Pal (India), Paredes (Ecuador), Pessou (Dahomey), Rosenne (Israel), Tabibi (Afghanistan), Tsuruoka (Japan), Tunkin (Soviet Union), Verdross (Austria), Waldock (U.K.), and Yasseen (Iraq).

Report of the International Law Commission: Consular Relations

The International Law Commission at its 13th session in 1961 completed a series of 71 draft articles and commentaries on the subject of consular relations. The report of the Commission was presented in the General Assembly's Legal Committee by the out-going Chairman of the Commission, Grigory I. Tunkin, of the Soviet Union. The Commission recommended that the General Assembly convene an international conference of plenipotentiaries to study its draft text on consular relations and conclude one or more conventions on the subject. This recommendation followed the pattern successfully established by the Commission in connection with its texts on the law of the sea, which became the four law of the sea conventions and optional protocol signed at Geneva in 1958 at the conclusion of the first U.N. Con-

ference on the Law of the Sea, and the Commission's text on diplomatic relations, which became the Convention on the same subject signed in 1961 at Vienna at the conclusion of the U.N. Conference on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities.

The United States, together with Denmark, Mexico, Pakistan, the Philippines, Somalia, Uruguay, and Venezuela, sought affirmative action in the Legal Committee on the Commission's recommendation. These states tabled a draft resolution calling for further discussion of the draft articles by the Legal Committee in 1962 and the convening of a conference in 1963. Upon the subsequent generous invitation of Austria, it was agreed that this Conference would be held at Vienna. This resolution asked the Secretary-General to perform the Secretariat services. The draft resolution called for the extension of invitations to participate in the conference to "States Members of the United Nations, States members of the specialized agencies and States parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice." This invitation was the traditional U.N. formula and had been approved in the past in connection, for example, with the United Nations conferences on the law of the sea and diplomatic relations. The formula meant that, in addition to all members of the United Nations, invitations would be extended to such states as the Federal Republic of Germany, the Holy See, Kuwait, Liechtenstein, Monaco, San Marino, Republic of Korea, Republic of Viet-Nam, and Switzerland.

While there was a broad consensus in the Committee that a conference should be held in 1963, there was no agreement on what states should participate. The "States Members" formula was strongly opposed by certain Asian states, by the Soviet bloc and one or two others.

A stormy political debate began. After vigorous opposition by the United States and a large number of other states, the Ceylonese draft resolution was withdrawn and an "all States" amendment to the U.S. cosponsored draft resolution was substituted in its stead. This amendment was defeated on November 13 by a vote of 26 to 45 (U.S.), with 13 abstentions, and the U.S. cosponsored draft resolution was approved unanimously by the Legal Committee. Despite their defeat in the Legal Committee, however, Ceylon and her cosponsors introduced in the plenary session of the General Assembly the "all States" amendment. In once again opposing this formula, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton, said on December 18:

> During the debates in the Sixth Committee—and, if I may say so, those debates were extended and went into the subject very thoroughly and very carefully—my delegation and a great majority of other delegations referred to the fact that the General Assembly has, without exception, extended invitations only to "States Members" of the United Nations in connection with international conferences on legal questions. There has been no deviation whatsoever from this practice. It is the Members of the United Nations and the specialized

agencies and the parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice which ought by right to participate in United Nations international conferences. And that is what this conference will be.

The Ceylonese amendment was defeated by a vote of 27 to 50 (U.S.), with 15 abstentions and the General Assembly adopted the draft resolution as resolution 1685 (XVI).

Future Work in the Field of Codification and Progressive Development of International Law

Resolution 1505 (XV), adopted at the 15th session of the General Assembly, had placed on the provisional agenda of the 16th session the question "future work in the field of the codification and progressive development of international law." Discussions preceding the adoption of this resolution had made clear that it comprehended the work of both the International Law Commission and the Legal Committee.

Considerable differences of view attended the Committee's consideration of this item, which was initiated by the Soviet Representative and Chairman of the International Law Commission, Grigory I. Tunkin, who summarized the views of the Commission on this subject.

With regard to the relative roles of the General Assembly and the International Law Commission in the formulation of the Commission's work program, many representatives, while not disputing the competence of the General Assembly to supervise the work of the Commission, recalled that the Commission had itself formulated its initial work program in 1949. Other representatives considered that the choice of topics raised questions of objectives and purposes best decided by the General Assembly. There was general agreement, however, that the views of the Commission should be sought regarding the suitability for study of any topics proposed for inclusion in its work program, and a majority of the Committee appeared to prefer that the Commission be asked to consider its future work program in the light of suggestions made in the Legal Committee.

In addition to disagreement over the primary responsibility for determining the Commission work programs, disagreement also arose concerning the kinds of topics with which the International Law Commission is suited to deal. Many representatives, including the Representative of the United States, noted that a body of legal experts not acting under instructions from their governments is best suited to the consideration of legal topics, and that it should not be asked to seek the resolution of controversies of an essentially political character. Other representatives, however, emphasized that law

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and politics are closely mixed in international life, that purely legal questions are infrequently encountered and often of limited importance, and that the International Law Commission should not hesitate to undertake topics which, while possessing important legal aspects, are also the subject of political controversy. While it may be argued that these views are not in reality conflicting, and that this apparent dispute regarding the fundamentals of the work of the Commission was in fact a difference only of emphasis, general approval within the Committee for the Commission's plans to give priority to its work on the topics of treaties and state responsibility alleviated the need to resolve this fundamental issue. An additional topic, succession of states and governments, was also widely considered to be appropriate for consideration by the Commission on a priority basis. Certain other topics were also proposed for possible inclusion in the work program of the Commission: recognition of states and governments, the law of outer space, the sources of international law, the right of asylum, and the principles of nonintervention.

During the discussion it was suggested by several representatives that resolution 1505 (XV) had been prompted primarily by the slender agenda of the Legal Committee. It was asserted that it was the Legal Committee, rather than the International Law Commission, whose future work might validly give rise to concern. As a committee composed of instructed representatives of governments, the Legal Committee is, as the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Francis T. P. Plimpton, pointed out, more suitable a forum than the International Law Commission in which to explain the positions of states with regard to many topics, especially those having pronounced political aspects. Several topics were suggested for future consideration by the Legal Committee: peaceful coexistence of states, the pacific settlement of international disputes, the question of ratifications of and exceptions to multilateral conventions concluded under the auspices of the United Nations and for which the Secretary-General acts as depository, the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, and the legal aspects of disarmament.

A substantial portion of the discussion in the Legal Committee concerned the proposal that the Committee should undertake a study of "the legal aspects of coexistence." Communist bloc representatives described this topic as of primary importance. They contrasted the principles of peaceful coexistence, which they identified with the foreign policy of the Communist bloc, with the "positions of strength" policy of Western states. Other representatives noted that the conception of peaceful coexistence has been from ancient times a principle of certain religious systems and favored its elaboration as an international code. Many U.N. member nations, including the United

States, distinguished the religious conception of peaceful coexistence from the political, and noted that, insofar as it had been considered in international affairs, the concept of peaceful coexistence had been singularly lacking in the precision and legal content which might justify its consideration in the Legal Committee. With regard to the relative roles of the Western states and the Communist bloc in maintenance of peace, the U.S. Representative stated as follows:

> In his statement the distinguished delegate of the Soviet Union treated the topic of peaceful co-existence at some length. . . . He appeared to equate this topic with the so-called struggle of the so-called peace-loving states to alleviate international tensions. Apparently, in his view, that struggle began with the Bolshevik revolution in 1917.
>
> I am profoundly skeptical of any political analysis which seeks to attribute mankind's age-long striving for peace to a single political system or group of states. Mankind's struggle for peace hardly began in 1917. In fact, it has been the Communist advocacy and pursuit of the violent overthrow of foreign governments which first raised in its acute and modern form the danger that countries having different social systems would be precluded by that fact from living at peace with each other. No objective observer can doubt from what sources . . . the true threat to peace springs. . . . When one recalls the instances of international violence even within the Communist bloc—the alleged source of peaceful co-existence—in East Berlin in 1953, in Hungary in 1956; when one recalls the role of the Communist bloc in the invasion of the Republic of Korea; when one recalls the Soviet Union's violation of the moratorium on nuclear testing, then the remarks of the distinguished delegate of the Soviet Union are placed in context.

Another important suggestion for the future work of the International Law Commission and the General Assembly's Legal Committee related to human rights. The Representative of Colombia urged that the right of asylum, presently on the work program of the International Law Commission, should be included among the topics to be given priority study. He also proposed that the Legal Committee should study the question of the establishment of an international court of human rights.

Several proposals and amendments were presented to the Committee for adoption. Twelve states, Afghanistan, Cambodia, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Ghana, Indonesia, Iraq, Libya, Mali, Rumania, the United Arab Republic, and Yugoslavia, proposed a resolution by which the General Assembly would recommend to the International Law Commission that it study on a priority basis the law of treaties, state responsibility, and succession of states and governments, and that the Commission consider its future work program in the light of discussions in the Legal Committee. The draft resolution also proposed that the topic "principles of international law relating to peaceful co-existence of states" be placed on the provisional agenda of the General Assembly's 17th session. Eight states, Chile, Dahomey, Greece, Ireland, Japan, Pakistan, Turkey, and the United States, proposed an

amendment to the 12-power draft resolution whereby the question to be placed on the provisional agenda would be formulated as follows: "principles of international law relating to friendly relations and co-operation among states in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations." The Representative of the United Kingdom proposed that the 12-power draft resolution be amended to include a paragraph expressing the General Assembly's appreciation to the International Law Commission for the valuable work already accomplished. Colombia proposed a resolution, which was subsequently recast as an amendment to the 12-power proposal, whereby the question of the right of asylum would be included among the priority topics on the work program of the Commission, and the question of establishing an international tribunal for the protection of human rights would be placed on the provisional agenda for the General Assembly's 17th session.

The Colombian amendment was subsequently withdrawn by its sponsor on the understanding that the topic, along with those proposed by other representatives during the debate, would be considered by the International Law Commission. In withdrawing his amendment concerning the question of establishing an international tribunal for the protection of human rights, the Representative of Colombia noted that this question remained on the agenda of the Human Rights Commission. Both the eight-power and the U.K. amendments having been accepted by the sponsors of the 12-power draft resolution, the latter was adopted unanimously by the Legal Committee at its 730th meeting. The resolution, as adopted in the Committee, was adopted unanimously in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly as resolution 1686 (XVI).

Question of Special Missions

In April 1961 the U.N. Vienna Conference on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities recommended that the General Assembly refer to the International Law Commission for further study the subject of the privileges and immunities to be accorded to persons performing *ad hoc* diplomatic missions in the light of the convention adopted by the Vienna Conference.

The debate in the General Assembly Legal Committee on this item stressed its importance and recognized the fact that the Commission had not had sufficient time to give it the thorough study required. The Committee unanimously approved a draft resolution submitted by Argentina and five other states which requested the International Law Commission, as it deemed advisable, to devote further study to this subject. On December 18 this resolution was unanimously adopted by the Assembly in plenary session as resolution 1687 (XVI).

PART V

Budgetary, Financial and Administrative Matters

During the first part of its 16th session, which met in the fall of 1961, the General Assembly approved a gross budget of $82,144,740 for 1962. When account is taken of miscellaneous income and a carryover of funds from prior years, the amount which members will be assessed is reduced to $74,124,117. This figure does not include funds for the United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East (UNEF) or for the United Nations Operation in the Congo (ONUC). The United States assessed share of the 1962 budget amounts to $23,734,542 which represents 32.02 percent of the total. The Assembly, having decided to continue the operations of UNEF in the Middle East and ONUC in the Congo at the present level, also adopted resolutions to finance these operations to June 30, 1962.

An important action of the Assembly, despite strong opposition from the Soviet bloc, was the authorization of a $200 million U.N. bond issue. The purpose of the bond issue is to enable the United Nations to meet the financial crisis resulting from the extraordinary expenditures which it has incurred in fulfilling the pledges in its Charter to secure peace and security.

Finally, in view of the questions raised by certain U.N. members as to the legal status, under the Charter, of past assessments to finance ONUC and UNEF costs, the Assembly, over Soviet bloc and French opposition, voted to refer the matter to the International Court of Justice for an advisory opinion.

BUDGETS

The United Nations and the nine Specialized Agencies adopted assessment budgets for 1962 amounting to a total of $148,361,860. The comparable figure for 1961 was $130,932,826. The main causes of the increase in the budget over 1961 are program expansion and increased operating costs.

United Nations

On December 20, 1961, the General Assembly adopted the 1962 gross budget for the United Nations amounting to $82,144,740. When miscellaneous income and carryover from prior years were taken into consideration, the assessment budget was reduced to $74,124,117. This represents an increase of $4,776,310 over 1961.

Over strong opposition from the Soviet bloc, the Assembly adopted a revised scale of assessments for member contributions to the U.N. budget for the financial years 1962, 1963, and 1964. This new scale reduced the U.S. assessment from 32.51 percent to 32.02 percent. However, even with the reduced assessment, the increased budget of the United Nations resulted in an increase of $1,401,732 in the 1962 U.S. assessment.

The Soviet bloc voted against adoption of the new scale claiming that all factors had not been taken into account in establishing the new assessments. The United States supported the new scale since it was a step in the direction of implementing resolution 1137 (XII) adopted by the 12th General Assembly which states that "in principle, the maximum contribution of any one Member State to the ordinary expenses of the United Nations shall not exceed 30 percent of the total." The final vote was 77 (U.S.) to 11, with 1 abstention.

Specialized Agencies

Comparative assessments upon member governments for carrying out the activities of the Specialized Agencies during calendar years 1961 and 1962 are shown in the following table:

	1961	*1962*
Food and Agriculture Organization	$9, 225, 500	$14, 340, 000
International Civil Aviation Organization	4, 057, 000	4, 083, 000
International Labor Organization	9, 857, 110	11, 115, 438
Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization	232, 500	466, 250
International Telecommunications Union	2, 868, 659	2, 929, 567
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	15, 070, 703	15, 548, 580
Universal Postal Union	686, 848	918, 820
World Health Organization	18, 920, 520	24, 148, 320
World Meteorological Organization	666, 179	687, 768
Total	61, 585, 019	74, 237, 743

ASSESSMENTS (United Nations and Specialized Agencies)

The United States assessed shares of the budgets of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies are listed below:

	1961 Percent	*1962 Percent*
United Nations	32. 51	32. 02
Food and Agriculture Organization	32. 51	32. 02
International Civil Aviation Organization	32. 43	32. 43
International Labor Organization	25. 00	25. 00
Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization	14. 14	16. 77
International Telecommunications Union	10. 23	10. 14
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	31. 46	31. 46
Universal Postal Union	4. 29	4. 29
World Health Organization	31. 71	31. 71
World Meteorological Organization	19. 03	19. 03

UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE (UNEF)

The United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) which was established on November 5, 1956, by a resolution of the General Assembly during the Suez crisis, has maintained relative peace and order in the Gaza strip and Sharm-el-Shaikh areas and along about 140 miles of the Israel-United Arab Republic border. As of July 1961 there were an estimated 5,159 troops in UNEF. The United States does not contribute any troops for UNEF.

The Secretary-General's estimate for the expenses of the Force during the first half of 1962 totaled $19,836,800. The General Assembly's Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, while recommending an appropriation in this amount, suggested that efforts should be made to keep the expenses within a target level of $19,500,000.

By a resolution adopted December 20, 1961, the first part of the 16th General Assembly decided to continue the UNEF and made arrangements for its financial support for the first 6 months of 1962. It authorized the Secretary-General during the first half of 1962 to expend at an average monthly rate not to exceed $1,625,000 for the continuing cost of UNEF and decided to apportion among all the member countries the $9,750,000 cost authorized for the period January 1 to June 30, 1962.

In order to gain financial support for programs whose objectives were in line with our foreign policy and with those of a majority of the member countries, the United States announced its willingness to

make a voluntary contribution of $1,321,974 which, together with a voluntary contribution of $67,500 from the United Kingdom, would be used to reduce the smaller and poorer countries' assessments toward the cost of UNEF.

The resolution, which was adopted by a vote of 61 (U.S.) to 11, with 24 abstentions, also called for the application of the voluntary contributions to reduce by 80 percent the assessment of member countries whose contributions to the regular budget range from 0.04 percent to 0.25 percent; to reduce by 80 percent the assessment of member countries receiving assistance during 1961 under the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (ETAP), whose contributions to the regular budget range from 0.26 percent to 1.25 percent; and to reduce by 50 percent the assessment of member countries receiving assistance during 1961 under the ETAP, whose contributions to the regular budget are 1.26 percent and above. For a discussion of ETAP, see page 248.

The United States voluntary contribution, together with its assessed contribution of $3,121,950 toward the cost of UNEF for the period January 1 to June 30, 1962, made a total U.S. cash contribution of $4,443,924.

UNITED NATIONS OPERATION IN THE CONGO (ONUC)

One of the significant accomplishments of the first part of the 16th General Assembly was its provision for financing the U.N. Operation in the Congo (ONUC) for the period November 1, 1961 to June 30, 1962.

ONUC was established and its mission defined by decision of the Security Council on July 14, 1960 (see part I, page 59). Its mission was further defined by the Security Council on July 22 as "the complete restoration of law and order in the Republic of the Congo." Though the United States has not supplied any troops for the Congo operation, within 24 hours after the decision of July 14 was taken military contingents made available by many member countries, together with materiel, were being flown into the Congo in U.S. Air Force planes made available to the United Nations. As of December 26, 1961, there were an estimated 15,251 U.N. troops in the Congo.

The cost of ONUC represents a heavy burden on the membership of the United Nations. The first part of the 15th General Assembly, which met in the fall of 1960, had approved a budget of $48,500,000 for the Congo military operation for the period from July 14 to December 31, 1960. The resumed session of the 15th General As-

sembly, which met in the spring of 1961, had approved an assessment budget of $100 million for this operation for the period from January 1 to October 31, 1961.

The U.N. Secretary-General estimated the cost of ONUC for 1962 at $10 million per month, an estimate which the General Assembly's Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions recommended to the 16th General Assembly. The General Assembly in a resolution adopted on December 20, 1961, authorized the Secretary-General during 1962 to expend at an average monthly rate not to exceed $10 million for the continuing cost of the ONUC. The General Assembly also decided to apportion among all the member countries the $80 million cost authorized for the period November 1, 1961, to June 30, 1962.

In order to gain financial support for programs whose objectives were in line with our foreign policy and with those of a majority of the member countries, the United States announced its willingness to make a voluntary contribution of $11,400,800 which would be used to reduce the smaller and poorer member countries' assessments toward the cost of ONUC.

The resolution which was adopted by a vote of 67 (U.S.) to 13, with 15 abstentions, calls for the application of the voluntary contributions to reduce by 80 percent the assessment of member countries whose contributions to the regular budget range from 0.04 percent to 0.25 percent; to reduce by 80 percent the assessment of member countries receiving assistance during 1961 under the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, whose contributions to the regular budget range from 0.26 percent to 1.25 percent; and to reduce by 50 percent the assessment of member countries receiving assistance during 1961 under the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, whose contributions to the regular budget are 1.26 percent and above. (See part II, page 249.)

The United States voluntary contribution, together with its assessed contribution of $25,616,000 made a total U.S. cash contribution of $37,016,800 toward the cost of ONUC for the period November 1, 1961 to June 30, 1962.

UNITED NATIONS FUND FOR THE CONGO

On September 20, 1960, the Secretary-General appealed to all member governments for urgent voluntary contributions to a U.N. Fund for the Congo to be used under U.N. control to provide economic assistance to the Congo. As of December 31, 1961, 14 member governments of the United Nations or its Specialized Agencies had con-

tributed to the U.N. Fund for the Congo a total of $34,023,489, of which $22,950,000 was contributed by the United States. Contributions to the Fund are used to finance imports into the Congo and to cover the cost of the U.N. technical assistance program in the Congo. Proceeds from the sale of imports financed by these funds are used for budget aid and for public works programs.

UNITED NATIONS BOND ISSUE

The General Assembly, by a vote of 58 (U.S.) in favor, 13 against (Soviet bloc and Belgium, Cuba, France), with 24 abstentions, adopted a resolution authorizing the Secretary-General to issue United Nations bonds. The United States voted for this resolution but made it clear that only the Congress could authorize a purchase of U.N. bonds. The adoption of this resolution was an important step in meeting the financial crisis brought on by the extraordinary expenditures incurred by the United Nations in keeping the peace, by the refusal of certain member governments to pay their assessed shares of the ONUC and UNEF operations, and the arrearages on the part of some other members. When U Thant became U.N. Secretary-General he found that one of the basic problems of the United Nations was a very large cash deficit. As of December 31, 1961, the total unpaid contributions on the regular budget, UNEF, and ONUC accounts totaled about $94 million. Unpaid U.N. bills, plus sums borrowed from other accounts, were estimated at about $130 million. To meet this problem the Secretary-General proposed the $200 million bond issue which the General Assembly authorized.

The U.N. bond issue has several distinct advantages for the United Nations and for the United States. It is large enough to relieve the United Nations financial straits for 1962 and for part of 1963. This will provide a much needed breathing space, without financial impediments, to permit the carrying out of the functions now entrusted to the United Nations and to find more permanent solutions to U.N. financing problems.

Payments for the immediate heavy costs of the peace-keeping activities in the Middle East and the Congo will be spread over a period of 25 years. Annual repayments to cover these costs, plus interest, will be included in the regular budget assessments on member governments and will amount to $10.2 million. Shares of this amount are considered within the ability of even smaller, less developed nations to pay. Through this means the principle of collective responsibility can, we believe, be reaffirmed.

The bonds will bear a 2 percent interest rate. This rate will keep annual costs at a level enabling all governments to pay but will give some return to governments purchasing the bonds. This interest rate would also avoid the charge that this is a profitmaking venture by capital exporting nations, who will purchase a large share of the bonds.

None of the member states has disputed the fact that regular budget assessments are binding obligations which each member must pay under the Charter.

The U.S. contribution for peace-and-security operations financed from this bond issue will be reduced from almost 50 percent to our regular budget assessment scale of 32 percent.

The nonpaying member states will still owe their dues: the bond issue will *not* relieve any country of amounts it owes to any of the U.N. accounts. The restoring of the credit of the United Nations and the settlement of its obligations would be assisted by a favorable decision of the International Court of Justice (see page 331).

ADVISORY COURT OPINION ON ARREARAGES

Closely related to the Secretary-General's proposal for authority to issue U.N. bonds was his suggestion, which was adopted by the General Assembly, that the International Court of Justice be asked for an advisory opinion to settle the question of whether the assessments levied to pay the expenses of UNEF and ONUC create under the U.N. Charter mandatory international legal obligations on member states to make payment. For the text of the question asked of the Court, see page 331. It is the opinion of the United States that these assessments, like other assessments levied to finance the activities of the United Nations, create such binding obligations. Several states, however, have refused to pay their assessments for UNEF and ONUC, claiming that they are not obligated to do so. Others are in arrears and wish to know whether they are obligated to pay. We hope that the Court will deliver an opinion which will confirm the binding character of these assessments. Such an opinion would be of great value in persuading many states to pay these assessments.

VOLUNTARY PROGRAMS

A number of major U.N. programs are financed by voluntary contributions by member nations rather than by regular assessments on all the members. Among these are (1) the U.N. Expanded Technical Assistance Program (ETAP) and the Special Fund, (2) the U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), (3) the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF), and (4) the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Programs (UNHCR).

The General Assembly increased the combined annual goal for ETAP and the Special Fund from $100 million to $150 million (see pp. 248, 254). In 1961 total government contributions and pledges amounted to about $93 million. This figure is expected to exceed $112 million in 1962. The United States contributes 40 percent of total government contributions to these programs. For 1961 this amounted to over $37 million.

During 1961 UNICEF received total contributions from governments and private sources of $27.8 million, of which $12 million came from the United States. Government contributions to UNRWA for U.S. fiscal year 1961 amounted to $33,574,140, of which $23.5 million was contributed by the United States. Of the U.S. contribution $6.5 million was in the form of Public Law 480 surplus foods. Additional contributions were received by UNRWA from private sources. The UNHCR received about $3.9 million from governments, including $1.3 million from the United States for the 1961 program. This income was considerably augmented by private contributions.

ORGANIZATION OF THE SECRETARIAT

The General Assembly considered the report of its Committee of Experts on the review and organization of the Secretariat appointed in accordance with the 14th General Assembly resolution 1446 (XIV) and the related report of the Administrative and Budgetary Committee. The Soviet proposal that the United Nations should be directed by three persons, rather than one, was strongly opposed by the United States and other governments on the grounds that it would lead to paralysis of action. Similar disagreement developed concerning other matters including the number of Deputy Secretary-Generals and the geographical distribution of staff. The U.N. Secretary-General stated that in accordance with his previous statements, it was his intention to effect as soon as possible certain limited

adjustments in the allocation of present top-level responsibilities with a view to securing, *inter alia*, more adequate compliance with the requirements of equitable and balanced geographical distribution. Subject to these necessary first steps he expressed his wish to postpone judgment on the desirability of proceeding with other organizational changes pending further experience. In view of this the General Assembly decided, without objection, to defer to its 17th session any further consideration of the organization of the Secretariat at the top level.

On budget stabilization the Assembly adopted, without objection, the resolution of the Administrative and Budgetary Committee "to request the Secretary General and the Advisory Committee to study specific measures towards achieving a stabilization of the administrative part of the budget and to report thereon with their recommendations to the General Assembly at its seventeenth session." No action was taken on other parts of the report except to note them.

The Assembly also adopted a statement of the Administrative and Budgetary Committee concerning the geographical distribution of the staff of the Secretariat. This statement referred to a 13-power draft resolution and a U.S. draft resolution on the subject. The 13-power draft resolution provided among other things that geographic distribution be extended to cover general service positions as well as the Secretariats of the Technical Assistance Board (TAB) and the Special Fund. It set as a target a minimum of five staff members for each member state plus additional staff in terms of relative size of population of member states, relative importance of posts at various levels, and need for a balanced regional composition of the staff at top levels.

The U.S. draft resolution among other things expressed the view that geographical distribution in the Secretariat should take into account such factors as U.N. membership, financial contributions, and population of member states; and, at the same time, should protect the rights of existing staff members. It also recommended that a special study be made as to the desirability of including general service staff, TAB and Special Fund staff, as positions subject to geographic distribution.

In spite of lengthy negotiations, the Committee was unable to merge the viewpoints of these two draft resolutions. The Committee, "accordingly, invited the Secretary General (a) to take into consideration the contents of the two draft resolutions and also the views expressed in the Committee on this question, and (b) to present to the General Assembly at its seventeenth session a statement of his considered views on how to improve the geographical distribution of the staff of the Secretariat."

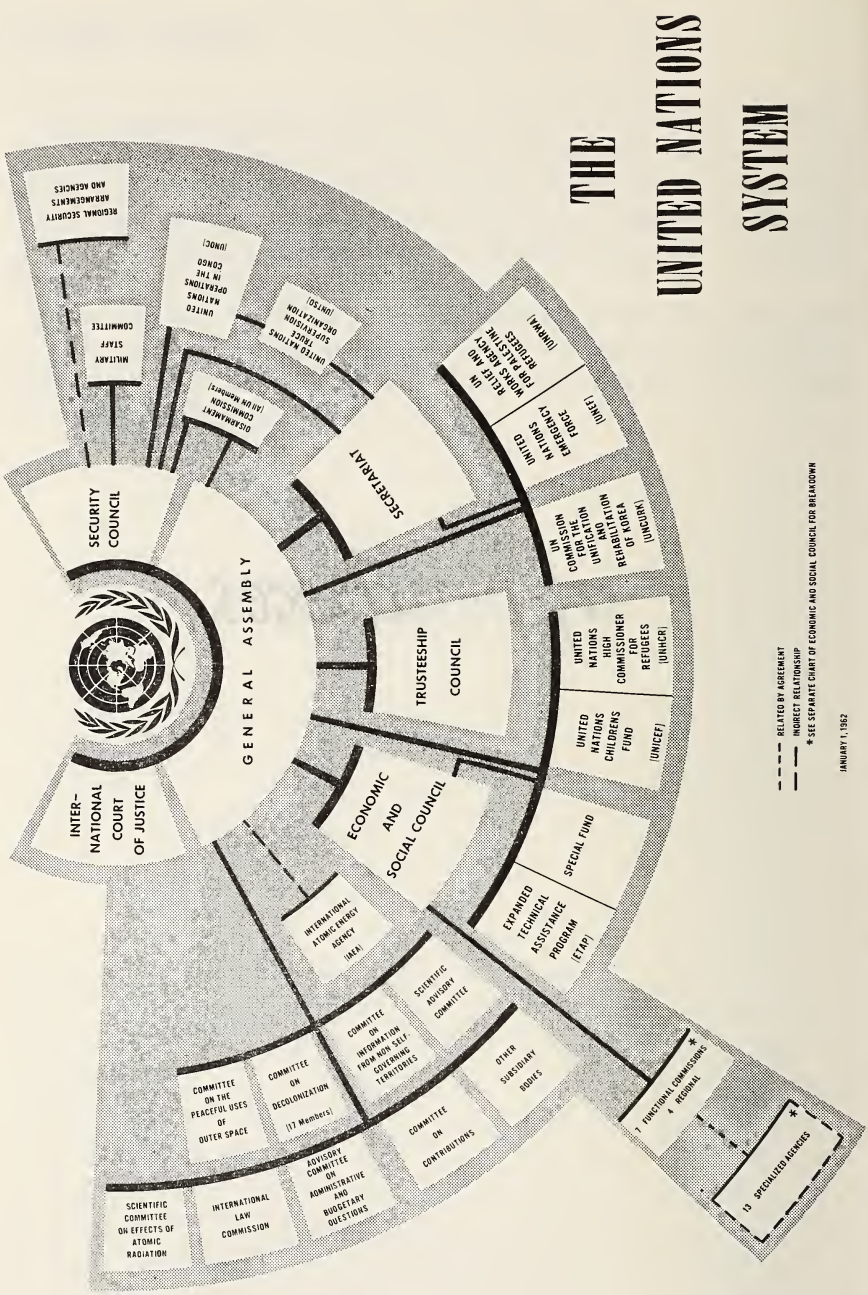
OTHER ITEMS

The Assembly, without objection, adopted a resolution establishing higher base salary scales and post adjustments for staff in the professional and higher categories of the international civil service.

By a unanimous vote the Assembly decided to increase the membership of its Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions from nine to twelve members.

A unanimous vote of the Assembly authorized the Secretary-General to proceed with the execution of the revised program for the modernization of the Palais des Nations in Geneva at a total cost not to exceed $2,081,000.

appendixes


THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
SECURITY COUNCIL
INTER-NATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE
SECRETARIAT
TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL
MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE
UNITED NATIONS OPERATIONS IN THE CONGO (ONUC)
UNITED NATIONS SUPERVISION ORGANIZATION (UNTSO)
DISARMAMENT COMMISSION (ad hoc Meeting)
REGIONAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS AND AGENCIES
UN RELIEF AND WORKS AGENCY FOR PALESTINE REFUGEES (UNRWA)
UNITED NATIONS EMERGENCY FORCE (UNEF)
UN COMMISSION FOR THE UNIFICATION AND REHABILITATION OF KOREA (UNCURK)
UNITED NATIONS HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES (UNHCR)
UNITED NATIONS CHILDRENS FUND (UNICEF)
SPECIAL FUND
EXPANDED TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM (ETAP)
INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY (IAEA)
SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE ON INFORMATION FROM NON SELF GOVERNING TERRITORIES
COMMITTEE ON DECOLONIZATION (17 Members)
COMMITTEE ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE
OTHER SUBSIDIARY BODIES
COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS
ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY QUESTIONS
INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION
SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE ON EFFECTS OF ATOMIC RADIATION
7 FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS
4 REGIONAL
13 SPECIALIZED AGENCIES
RELATED BY AGREEMENT
INDIRECT RELATIONSHIP
* SEE SEPARATE CHART OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL FOR BREAKDOWN
JANUARY 1, 1962

APPENDIX II

The United Nations

The General Assembly

The General Assembly is the only principal organ of the United Nations on which all 104 members are represented. These are listed below:

Afghanistan
Albania
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Cameroon
Canada
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chad
Chile
China
Colombia
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Léopoldville)
Costa Rica
Cuba
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Gabon
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Japan
Jordan
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malaya
Mali
Mauritania
Mexico
Mongolia
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Rumania
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Somali Republic
South Africa, Republic of
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Syrian Arab Republic [1]
Tanganyika
Thailand
Togo
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Venezuela
Yemen
Yugoslavia

[1] Resumed its original membership on Oct. 13, 1961, after having resumed its former status as an independent state.

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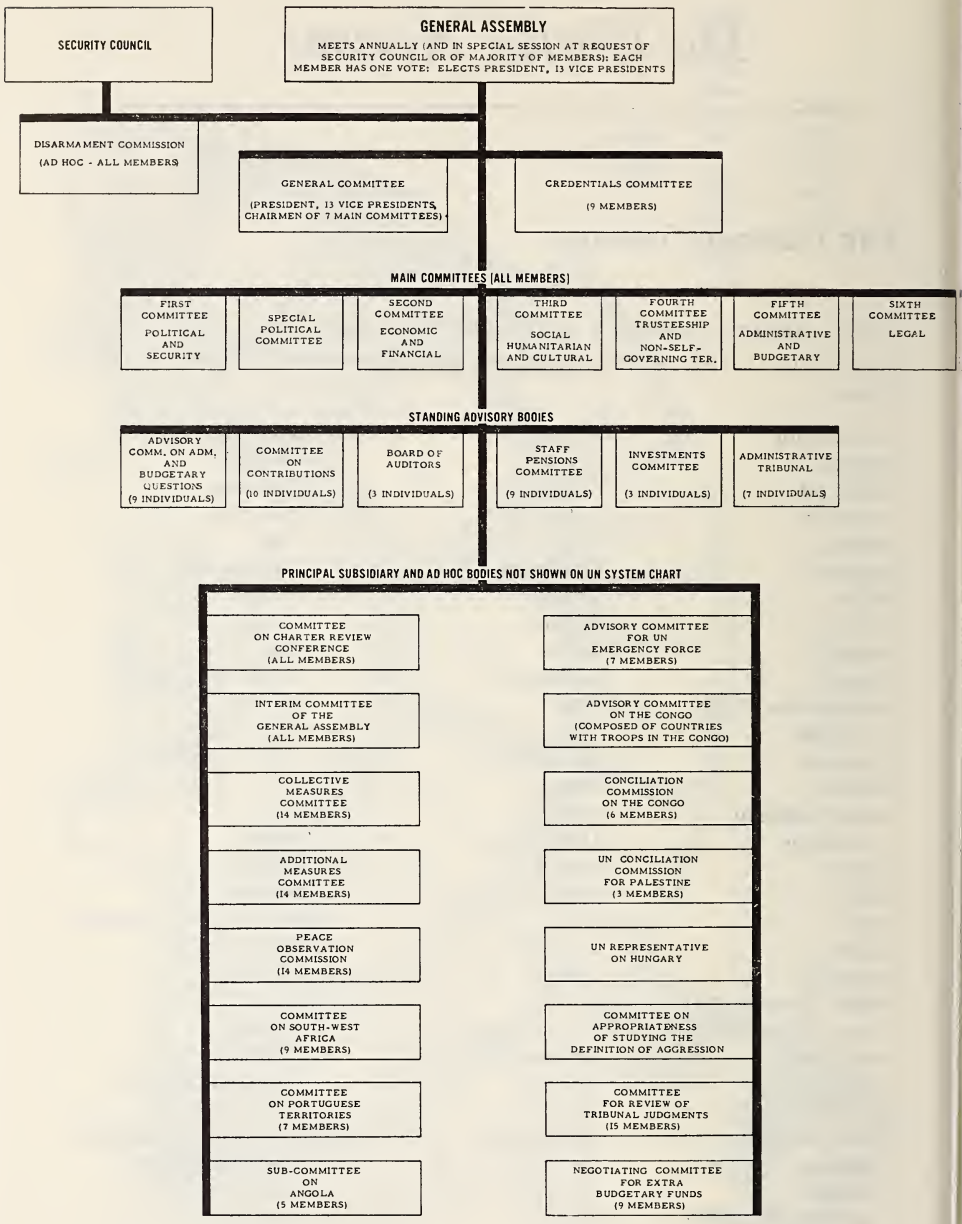
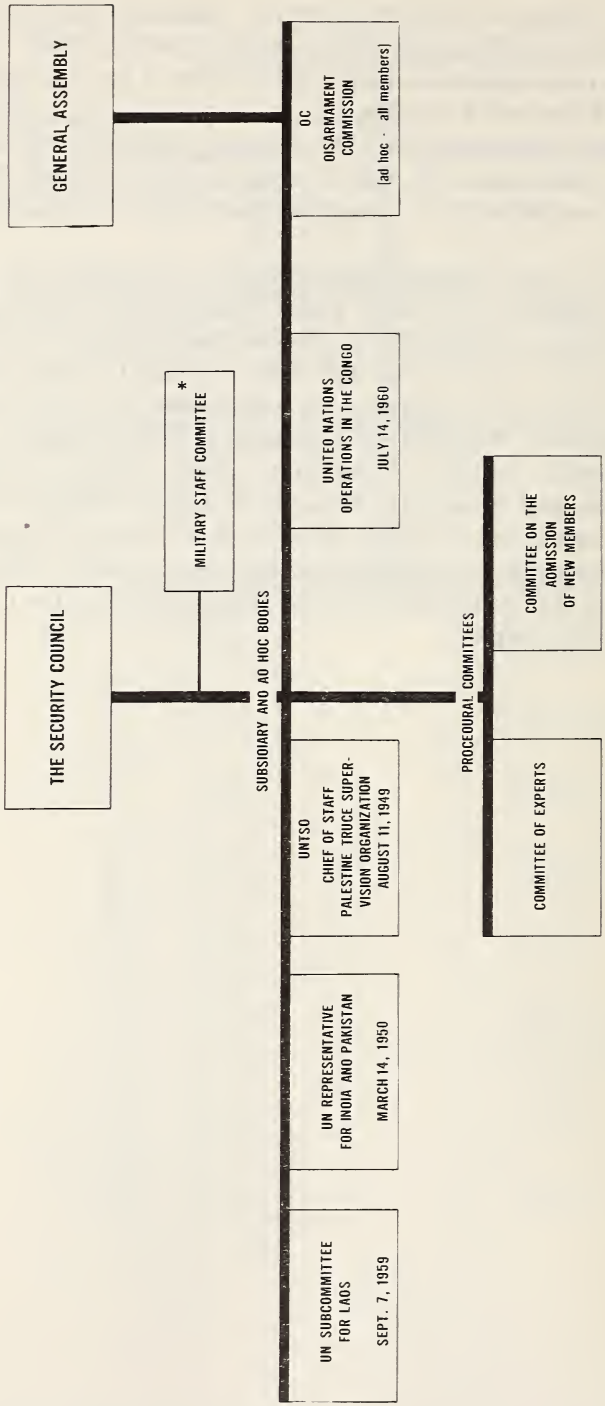

SECURITY COUNCIL
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
MEETS ANNUALLY (AND IN SPECIAL SESSION AT REQUEST OF SECURITY COUNCIL OR OF MAJORITY OF MEMBERS): EACH MEMBER HAS ONE VOTE: ELECTS PRESIDENT, 13 VICE PRESIDENTS
DISARMAMENT COMMISSION (AD HOC - ALL MEMBERS)
GENERAL COMMITTEE (PRESIDENT, 13 VICE PRESIDENTS, CHAIRMEN OF 7 MAIN COMMITTEES)
CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE (9 MEMBERS)
MAIN COMMITTEES (ALL MEMBERS)
FIRST COMMITTEE POLITICAL AND SECURITY
SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE
SECOND COMMITTEE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL
THIRD COMMITTEE SOCIAL HUMANITARIAN AND CULTURAL
FOURTH COMMITTEE TRUSTEESHIP AND NON-SELF-GOVERNING TER.
FIFTH COMMITTEE ADMINISTRATIVE AND BUDGETARY
SIXTH COMMITTEE LEGAL
STANDING ADVISORY BODIES
ADVISORY COMM. ON ADM. AND BUDGETARY QUESTIONS (9 INDIVIDUALS)
COMMITTEE ON CONTRIBUTIONS (10 INDIVIDUALS)
BOARD OF AUDITORS (3 INDIVIDUALS)
STAFF PENSIONS COMMITTEE (9 INDIVIDUALS)
INVESTMENTS COMMITTEE (3 INDIVIDUALS)
ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNAL (7 INDIVIDUALS)
PRINCIPAL SUBSIDIARY AND AD HOC BODIES NOT SHOWN ON UN SYSTEM CHART
COMMITTEE ON CHARTER REVIEW CONFERENCE (ALL MEMBERS)
INTERIM COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY (ALL MEMBERS)
COLLECTIVE MEASURES COMMITTEE (14 MEMBERS)
ADDITIONAL MEASURES COMMITTEE (14 MEMBERS)
PEACE OBSERVATION COMMISSION (14 MEMBERS)
COMMITTEE ON SOUTH-WEST AFRICA (9 MEMBERS)
COMMITTEE ON PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES (7 MEMBERS)
SUB-COMMITTEE ON ANGOLA (5 MEMBERS)
ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR UN EMERGENCY FORCE (7 MEMBERS)
ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON THE CONGO (COMPOSED OF COUNTRIES WITH TROOPS IN THE CONGO)
CONCILIATION COMMISSION ON THE CONGO (6 MEMBERS)
UN CONCILIATION COMMISSION FOR PALESTINE (3 MEMBERS)
UN REPRESENTATIVE ON HUNGARY
COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATENESS OF STUDYING THE DEFINITION OF AGGRESSION
COMMITTEE FOR REVIEW OF TRIBUNAL JUDGMENTS (15 MEMBERS)
NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE FOR EXTRA BUDGETARY FUNDS (9 MEMBERS)

The resumed session of the 15th General Assembly convened in New York on March 7, 1961, and adjourned on April 21, 1961. The officers and committee chairmen remained the same as for the regular session of the 15th General Assembly.

The 16th regular session of the U.N. General Assembly convened at New York on September 19 and recessed on December 20, 1961. The 16th session was scheduled to resume at New York on January 15, 1961.

The Assembly elected Mongi Slim (Tunisia) President and the chiefs of the delegations of China, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, France, Ghana, Greece, Mexico, Netherlands, Niger, U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States as the 13 Vice Presidents. The chairmen of the seven main committees were Dr. Mario Amadeo (Argentina), Political and Security; Yordan Tchobanov (Bulgaria), Special Political Committee; Blasco Lanza d'Ajeta (Italy), Economic and Financial; Salvador P. Lopez (Philippines), Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural; Miss Angie E. Brooks (Liberia), Trusteeship (including Non-Self-Governing Territories); Hermod Lannung (Denmark), Administrative and Budgetary; and Dr. Cesar Quintero (Panama), Legal.



JAN. 1, 1962

* CHIEFS OF STAFF OF THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

The Security Council

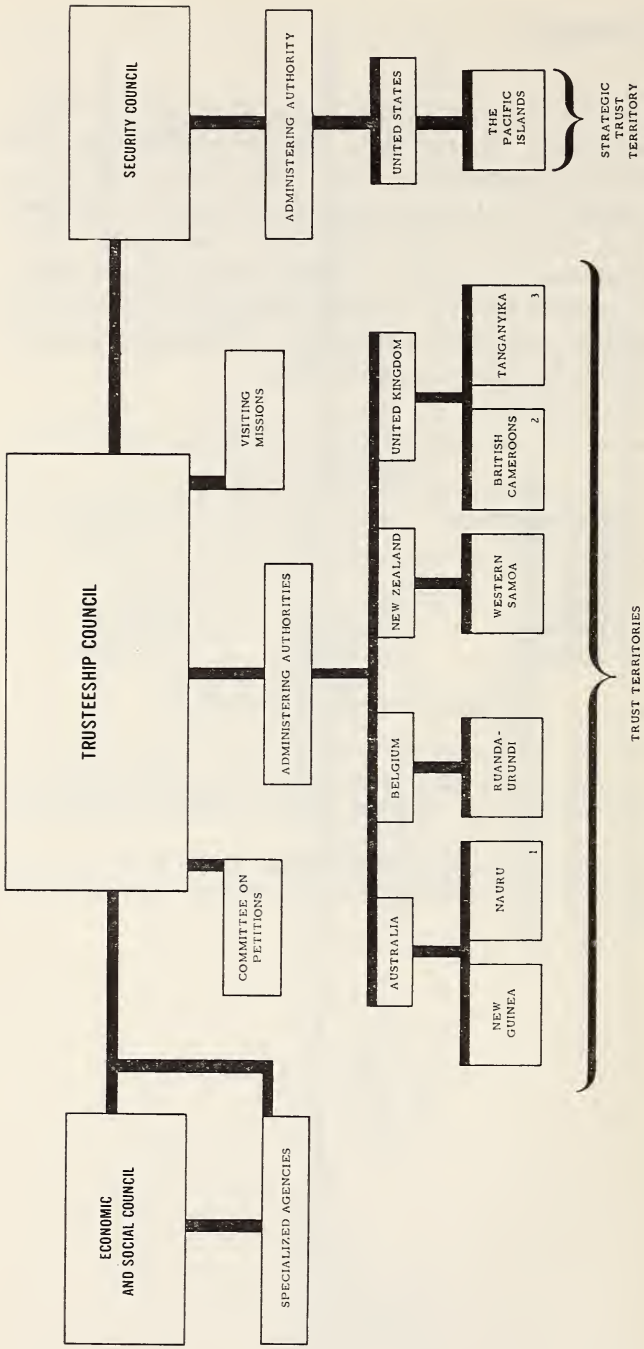
The Security Council consists of 11 members of the United Nations, 5 of which—China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States—have permanent status. The remaining 6 are elected for 2-year terms by the General Assembly, taking into account article 23 of the U.N. Charter to the effect that "due regard" shall be paid to the contribution of members to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the United Nations and to equitable geographic distribution. The nonpermanent members are not eligible for immediate reelection.

The membership is as follows:

Permanent members	Nonpermanent members		
	Term expired Dec. 31, 1961	Term expires Dec. 31, 1962	Term expires Dec. 31, 1963
China France U.S.S.R. United Kingdom United States	Ceylon Ecuador Turkey	Chile Ireland [1] United Arab Republic.	Ghana. Venezuela. Rumania [2].

[1] Elected in 1961, pursuant to a 15th General Assembly understanding, to succeed Liberia for the remainder of the term (1962) to which the latter had been elected in 1960.

[2] Elected for the term 1962–63 on the understanding that it would resign as of Dec. 31, 1962, and that the Philippines would be elected to complete the unexpired term (1963).



1. Administered by Australia on behalf of Australia, New Zealand, and United Kingdom as joint administering authorities.
2. Became independent on June 1, 1961. Northern British Cameroons joined the Federation of Nigeria June 1, 1961. Southern British Cameroons joined the Republic of Cameroun to form the Federal Republic of Cameroun on October 1, 1961.
3. Became independent December 9, 1961.

The Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship Council consists of all U.N. members administering trust territories, the permanent members of the Security Council not administering trust territories, and as many other elected U.N. members not administering trust territories as are required to insure that the total number of members of the Council is equally divided between nations that administer trust territories and those that do not. The elected members serve for a term of 3 years.

With the accession to independence of French Togoland, April 27, 1960, France ceased to be an administering member of the Council but remained on the Council as one of the permanent members of the Security Council. During 1961 the Trusteeship Council consisted of five administering and eight nonadministering members. The terms of three of these elected nonadministering members, Burma, Paraguay and the United Arab Republic, expired at the end of 1961. No new members were elected to replace them, and the balance called for by the Charter will thus be restored by the beginning of 1962.

Members Administering Trust Territories

Australia	New Zealand	United States
Belgium	United Kingdom	

Permanent Members of Security Council Not Administering Trust Territories

China	France	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Members Elected by the General Assembly

Bolivia (through 1962)	India (through 1962)	United Arab Republic (through 1961)
Burma (through 1961)	Paraguay (through 1961)	

The International Court of Justice

As of December 31, 1961, the composition of the Court is as follows:

President: B. Winiarski
Vice President: R. J. Alfaro
Registrar: M. J. Garnier-Coignet (France)

Members	Country	Term expires
R. J. Alfaro	Panama	February 5, 1964
A. H. Badawi	U.A.R	February 5, 1967
J. Basdevant	France	February 5, 1964
R. Córdova	Mexico	February 5, 1964
Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice	United Kingdom	February 5, 1964
P. C. Jessup	United States	February 5, 1970
V. K. Wellington Koo	China	February 5, 1967
V. M. Koretsky	U.S.S.R	February 5, 1970
G. Morelli	Italy	February 5, 1970
L. M. Moreno Quintana	Argentina	February 5, 1964
J. L. Bustamante y Rivero	Peru	February 5, 1970
Sir Percy Spender	Australia	February 5, 1967
J. Spiropoulos	Greece	February 5, 1967
K. Tanaka	Japan	February 5, 1970
B. Winiarski	Poland	February 5, 1967

The Secretariat of the United Nations

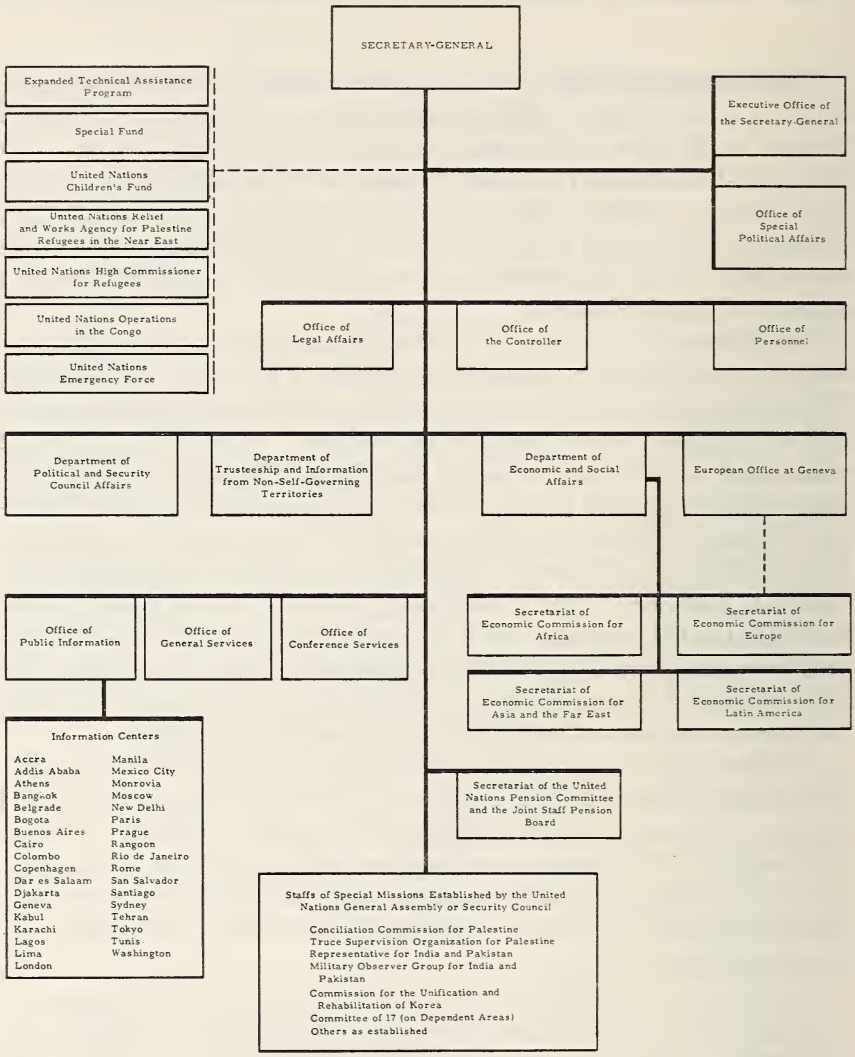
The Secretariat under article 7 of the Charter is a principal organ of the United Nations. The Acting Secretary-General, U Thant of Burma, is the chief administrative officer of the Organization. The Secretary-General and his staff provide services for the other principal organs. There were, as of December 31, 1961, about 5,500 employees on the staff of the Secretariat. The functions of the Secretary-General and the Secretariat are described in general terms in chapter XV of the Charter.

The Secretariat serves as executive agent for the other organs; for example, the Secretary-General has played a key role in the Middle Eastern complex of problems, both as the coordinator of U.N. agencies and as negotiator among the parties involved. In addition, the major peace and security operation of the United Nations in the Congo (Léopoldville) places a heavy burden of responsibility on the Secretary-General, who is responsible for all U.N. operations in the Congo in his capacity as Executive Agent of the Security Council and the General Assembly. The Secretariat provides services and expert staffs for the field missions, such as those in Korea and India-Pakistan and for the Trusteeship Council's missions to trust territories. The Secretariat also prepares studies and background material to facilitate the work of the several organs and their subsidiary bodies.

Another important task of the Secretariat is that of servicing meetings of the other principal organs (except the International Court of Justice which has a separate "Registry" or staff) and of their subsidiary bodies. This includes making physical arrangements, translating, interpreting, preparing minutes and documentation, publishing official records, and advising chairmen on precedents and parliamentary procedure.

A third responsibility of the Secretariat is the development of arrangements with the Specialized Agencies for the coordination of programs and administrative and financial practices. Finally, the Secretariat is responsible for supplying information to the world on the purposes and daily activities of the United Nations.

THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT



Jan. 1, 1962

Organization

As of December 31, 1961 the top officials at headquarters were as follows:

Acting Secretary-General	U Thant (Burma)
Under Secretaries:	
Special Political Affairs and Chef de Cabinet	C. V. Narasimhan (India)
Special Political Affairs	Ralph J. Bunche (U.S.)
General Assembly Affairs	Andrew W. Cordier (U.S.)
Political and Security Council Affairs	Georgy P. Arkadev (U.S.S.R.)
Economic and Social Council Affairs	Philippe de Seynes (France)
Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories	Dragoslav Protitch (Yugoslavia)
Legal Counsel	C. A. Stavropoulos (Greece)
Controller	Bruce Turner (New Zealand)
Director of Personnel	William A. B. Hamilton (U.K.)
Director, Office of General Services	David B. Vaughan (U.S.)
Office of Conference Services	Victor Hoo (China)
Office of Public Information	Hernane Tavares de Sa (Brazil)
Commissioner for Technical Assistance	Roberto M. Heurtematte (Panama)
Other key personnel, located in New York or elsewhere, were:	
Director, European Office at Geneva	Pier P. Spinelli (Italy)
Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Europe (ECE)	Vladimir Velebit (Yugoslavia)
Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA)	Raul Prebisch (Argentina)
Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Africa (ECA)	Mekki Abbas (Sudan)
Executive Secretary, Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE)	U Nyun (Burma)
Executive Chairman, Technical Assistance Board (TAB)	David K. Owen (U.K.)
Managing Director, Special Fund	Paul G. Hoffman (U.S.)
High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)	Felix Schnyder (Switzerland)
Director, Children's Fund (UNICEF)	Maurice Pate (U.S.)
Director, Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA)	John H. Davis (U.S.)
Registrar, International Court of Justice	M. J. Garnier-Coignet (France)

Advisory Committees

The General Assembly exercises control over and gives direction to the administrative processes and financial administration of the Secretariat through its Administrative and Budgetary Committee (Committee V). In addition it has created numerous expert bodies, the members of which serve on a continuing basis, to assist the Assembly and the Secretary-General in properly discharging their administrative and financial responsibilities. These include the following:

The Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions examines the budgets of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies and advises the Administrative and Budgetary Committee of the General Assembly. The 16th General Assembly increased the Committee's membership from 9 to 12. As of December 31, 1961, the 12 members were Thanassis Aghnides (Greece), André Ganem (France), Albert F. Bender, Jr. (U.S.), Ismat Kittani (Iraq), Alexei Fedorovich Sokirkin (U.S.S.R.), Alfonso Grez (Chile), C. H. W. Hodges (U.K.), Aga Shahi (Pakistan), Raul Quijano (Argentina), Mohamed Abdel Magid Ahmed (Sudan), Eolu Sanu (Nigeria), and Dragos Serbanescu (Rumania).

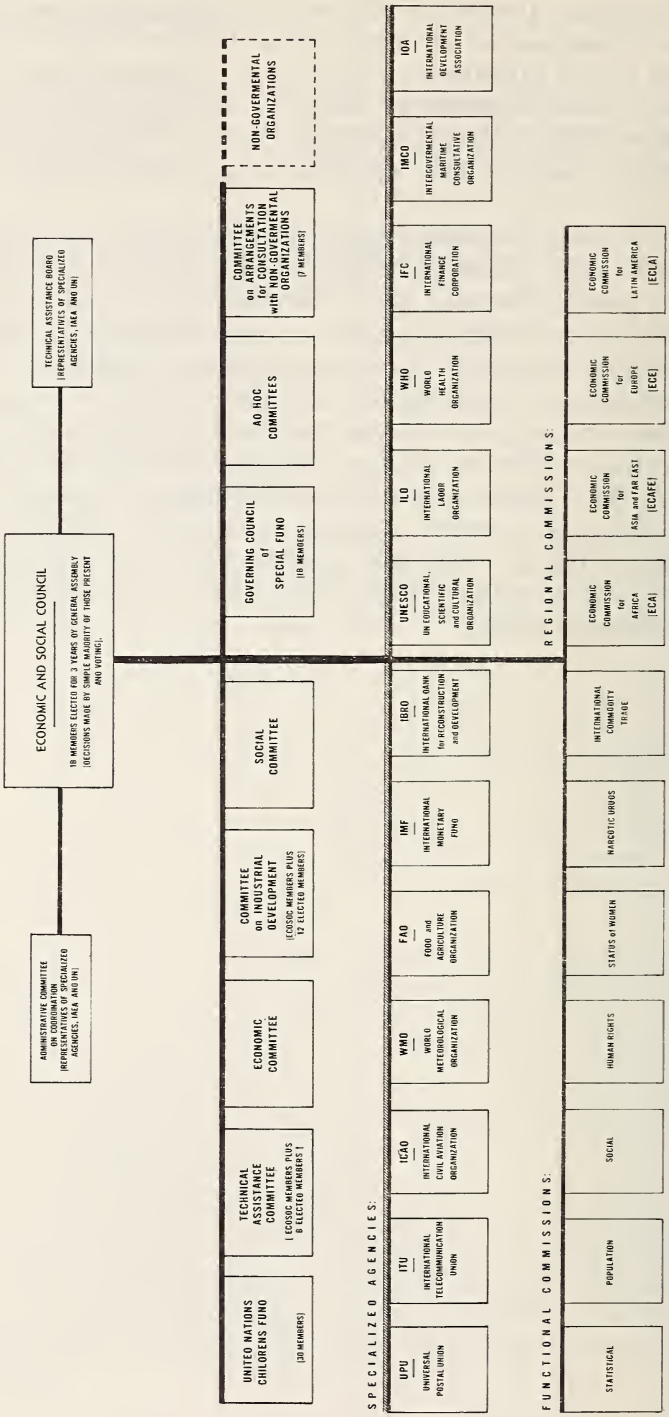
The Committee on Contributions consists of 10 members who advise the General Assembly concerning the apportionment of expenses of the United Nations among members. The members as of December 31, 1961, were Maurice Viaud (France), F. Nouredin Kia (Iran), Shakhar Jha (India), Jerzy Michalowski (Poland), Raymond T. Bowman (U.S.), José Pareja (Peru), Pavel Mikhailovich Chernyshev (U.S.S.R.), C. H. W. Hodges (U.K.), Sidney Pollock (Canada), and Antonio Arraiz (Venezuela).

The Administrative Tribunal, composed of 7 members, hears and passes judgment upon applications alleging nonobservance of contracts of employment or terms of appointment of staff members of the Secretariat of the United Nations. As of December 31, 1961, the 7 members, only 3 of whom sit in a particular case, were Mme. Paul Bastid (France), Lord Crook (U.K.), R. Venkataraman (India), James J. Casey (U.S.), Omar Loutfi (Egypt), Arvid Sture Petren (Sweden), and Hector Gros Espiell (Uruguay).

The Board of Auditors audits the accounts of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, and such of the Specialized Agencies as may request its services. As of December 31, 1961, it was composed of 3 members serving for 3 years, as follows: Auditor-General of Netherlands, Auditor-General of Colombia, and Auditor-General of Pakistan.

The Investments Committee advises the Secretary-General concerning the investment of the assets of the Pension Fund and such other funds on the investment of which the Secretary-General may seek advice. As of December 31, 1961, it was composed of William Fiske Frazier (U.S.), McAllister Lloyd (U.S.), David Rockefeller (U.S.), Roger de Candolle (Switzerland), and Jacques Rueff (France).

The Staff Pension Committee represents the United Nations on the Joint Staff Pension Board and administers, in respect of U.N. employees, the powers delegated by the Board relating to admission of participants and granting of benefits. As of December 31, 1961, it was composed of 3 members elected by the General Assembly, 3 members appointed by the Secretary-General, and 3 elected by the participants. The members elected by the General Assembly are C. H. W. Hodges (U.K.), R. Torres Astorga (Chile), and Albert F. Bender, Jr. (U.S.). The alternates elected by the General Assembly are Arthur C. Liveran (Israel), Brendan T. Noland (Ireland), and Nathan Quao (Ghana). Members appointed by the Secretary-General are W. A. B. Hamilton (U.K.), Bruce Turner (New Zealand), and David Vaughn (U.S.).


ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL
18 MEMBERS ELECTED FOR 3 YEARS BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY
(DECISIONS MADE BY SIMPLE MAJORITY OF THOSE PRESENT AND VOTING)
ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE ON COORDINATION
(REPRESENTATIVES OF SPECIALIZED AGENCIES, IAEA AND UN)
TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE BOARD
(REPRESENTATIVES OF SPECIALIZED AGENCIES, IAEA AND UN)
UNITED NATIONS CHILDRENS FUND
(30 MEMBERS)
TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE COMMITTEE
(ECOSOC MEMBERS PLUS 8 ELECTED MEMBERS)
ECONOMIC COMMITTEE
COMMITTEE on INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT
(ECOSOC MEMBERS PLUS 12 ELECTED MEMBERS)
SOCIAL COMMITTEE
GOVERNING COUNCIL of SPECIAL FUND
(18 MEMBERS)
AD HOC COMMITTEES
COMMITTEE on ARRANGEMENTS for CONSULTATION with NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
(7 MEMBERS)
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
SPECIALIZED AGENCIES:
UPU UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION
ITU INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION
ICAO INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION
WMO WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION
FAO FOOD and AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION
IMF INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND
IBRD INTERNATIONAL BANK for RECONSTRUCTION and DEVELOPMENT
UNESCO UN EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC and CULTURAL ORGANIZATION
ILO INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION
WHO WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION
IFC INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION
IMCO INTERGOVERNMENTAL MARITIME CONSULTATIVE ORGANIZATION
IDA INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION
FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS:
STATISTICAL
POPULATION
SOCIAL
HUMAN RIGHTS
STATUS of WOMEN
NARCOTIC DRUGS
INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY TRADE
REGIONAL COMMISSIONS:
ECONOMIC COMMISSION for AFRICA (ECA)
ECONOMIC COMMISSION for ASIA and FAR EAST (ECAFE)
ECONOMIC COMMISSION for EUROPE (ECE)
ECONOMIC COMMISSION for LATIN AMERICA (ECLA)
(JANUARY 1, 1962)
DIRECTLY DEPENDENT ON ECOSOC
RELATED BY AGREEMENT
CONSULTATIVE STATUS

The Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council is composed of 1 representative each from 18 member states, 6 countries being elected each year by the General Assembly to serve for a period of 3 years. The Council is composed of the following:

Term expired Dec. 31, 1961	Term expires Dec. 31, 1962	Term expires Dec. 31, 1963	Term expires Dec. 31, 1964
Afghanistan	Brazil	El Salvador	Australia
Bulgaria	Denmark	Ethiopia	Colombia
New Zealand	Japan	France	India
Spain	Poland	Italy	Senegal
United States	U.S.S.R.	Jordan	United States
Venezuela	United Kingdom	Uruguay	Yugoslavia

There were two sessions of the Council in 1961. The 31st session was convened at New York from April 19 to April 28, 1961. The 32d session was convened at the European headquarters of the United Nations in Geneva on July 4 and recessed on August 4, 1961. At the first meeting of its 31st session the Council elected Foss Shanahan (New Zealand) President and Eurilo Pentendo (Brazil) and Yordan Tchobanou (Bulgaria) First and Second Vice Presidents, respectively for 1961. The 32d session was resumed in New York on December 21 and concluded its work on December 22, 1961.

Standing Committees

COMMITTEE ON THE PEACEFUL USES OF OUTER SPACE

The General Assembly at its 14th session established a 24-member Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. This Committee carries forward the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space which was established by the 13th General Assembly and which made its report in 1959. The new Committee was established for an indefinite term and was requested to study technical and legal matters pertaining to international space cooperation and to make arrangements for an international scientific conference for the exchange of experience in the peaceful uses of outer space. The 16th General Assembly continued the 24 original members of the Committee for another 2 years and added four more states to their number.

The membership of the Committee is as follows:

Terms of all members expire December 31, 1963

Albania	France	Morocco
Argentina	Hungary	Poland
Australia	India	Rumania
Austria	Iran	Sierra Leone
Belgium	Italy	Sweden
Brazil	Japan	U.S.S.R.
Bulgaria	Lebanon	United Arab Republic
Canada	Mexico	United Kingdom
Chad	Mongolia	United States
Czechoslovakia		

COMMITTEE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

The Economic and Social Council at its 29th session established a standing Committee for Industrial Development. The Committee will advise ECOSOC in matters related to the acceleration by less industrialized countries of their industrial development. The Committee is composed of all members of ECOSOC together with an additional 12 members elected from among states members of the United Nations or members of the Specialized Agencies.

The membership of the Committee is as follows:

1961 Chairman: Said Hasan, Pakistan

Members by Virtue of ECOSOC Membership

	Expiration date
Afghanistan	December 31, 1961
Bulgaria	December 31, 1961
New Zealand	December 31, 1961
Spain	December 31, 1961
United States	December 31, 1961
Venezuela	December 31, 1961
Brazil	December 31, 1962
Denmark	December 31, 1962
Japan	December 31, 1962
Poland	December 31, 1962
United Kingdom	December 31, 1962
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1962
El Salvador	December 31, 1963
Ethiopia	December 31, 1963
France	December 31, 1963
Italy	December 31, 1963
Jordan	December 31, 1963
Uruguay	December 31, 1963

12 Elected Members

Malagasy Republic	December 31, 1961
Mexico	December 31, 1961
Tunisia	December 31, 1961
United Arab Republic	December 31, 1961
India	December 31, 1962
Ivory Coast	December 31, 1962
Peru	December 31, 1962
Sudan	December 31, 1962
Germany, Federal Republic of	December 31, 1963
Pakistan	December 31, 1963
Philippines	December 31, 1963
Yugoslavia	December 31, 1963

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to be members for the period January 1, 1962 through December 31, 1964:

Malagasy Republic	Tunisia	United Arab Republic
Mexico		

In addition Bulgaria was elected to complete Yugoslavia's term ending December 31, 1963, and Sweden was elected to complete India's term ending December 31, 1962. India and Yugoslavia are members of the Committee by virtue of their ECOSOC membership.

The Committee held its first meeting March 27 to April 21, 1961, at New York.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE COMMITTEE (TAC)

The Economic and Social Council, when it established the United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance August 15, 1949, established a standing Technical Assistance Committee composed of members of the Council. At the 23d session of the Council the membership was increased to 24 by the addition of 6 members to be elected from among the states members of the United Nations or members of the Specialized Agencies. At the resumed part of the 32d session of the Council the membership was increased to 30. The election of these additional 6 members will take place at the 33d session of the Council in April 1962. The function of the TAC is to review regularly the U.N. Expanded Program of Technical Assistance and to approve the overall program for the following year; to authorize the allocation of funds to the participating organizations; and to make for the Council critical examinations of activities undertaken and results achieved under the expanded program.

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1961 Chairman: Abdul H. Tabibi, Afghanistan (reelected)

Membership in 1961

(See ECOSOC membership)

Six elected members	Expiration date
Haiti	December 31, 1961
Israel	December 31, 1961
Norway	December 31, 1961
Sudan	December 31, 1962
Switzerland	December 31, 1962
United Arab Republic	December 31, 1962

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to be members for the period January 1, 1962, through December 31, 1963:

Afghanistan	Greece	New Zealand

The Committee met during the 32d session of ECOSOC June 26 to August 3, 1961, at Geneva, Switzerland, and November 27 to December 15, 1961, at New York.

Functional Commissions[1]

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

1961 Chairman: C. S. Jha, India

	Expiration date
France	December 31, 1961
India	December 31, 1961
Iraq	December 31, 1961
Philippines	December 31, 1961
Ukrainian S.S.R.	December 31, 1961
U.S.S.R.	December 31, 1961
Argentina	December 31, 1962
Austria	December 31, 1962
Denmark	December 31, 1962
Pakistan	December 31, 1962
United States	December 31, 1962
Venezuela	December 31, 1962
Afghanistan	December 31, 1963
China	December 31, 1963
Netherlands	December 31, 1963
Panama	December 31, 1963
Poland	December 31, 1963
United Kingdom	December 31, 1963

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1962, through December 31, 1964:

France	Lebanon	Turkey
India	Philippines	U.S.S.R.

The following countries were elected by ECOSOC in December 1961 to nominate members for the three additional seats on the Commission: Ukrainian S.S.R., to serve 1 year ending December 31, 1962; Italy, 2 years ending December 31, 1963; and El Salvador, 3 years ending December 31, 1964.

The Commission held its 17th session at New York from February 20 to March 17, 1961.

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[1] The membership of all the functional commissions, except the Commission on Narcotic Drugs was increased by the addition of three seats. See page 373 for increase in the Commission on Narcotic Drugs.

INTERNATIONAL COMMODITY TRADE COMMISSION

1961 Chairman: Octavia A. Dias Carneiro, Brazil

	Expiration date
Belgium	December 31, 1961
Canada	December 31, 1961
Chile	December 31, 1961
France	December 31, 1961
India	December 31, 1961
Uruguay	December 31, 1961
Argentina	December 31, 1962
Brazil	December 31, 1962
Czechoslovakia	December 31, 1962
Pakistan	December 31, 1962
Uruguay[1]	December 31, 1962
U.S.S.R.	December 31, 1962
United Kingdom	December 31, 1962
Bulgaria	December 31, 1963
Ceylon	December 31, 1963
Ivory Coast[1]	December 31, 1963
Malaya	December 31, 1963
New Zealand	December 31, 1963
Sweden	December 31, 1963
United States	December 31, 1963

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to be members for the period January 1, 1962, through December 31, 1964:

Australia	France	Mali[1]
Belgium	Malagasy Republic	Peru
Ecuador		

The Commission held its 9th session at New York from May 1 to 12, 1961.

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[1] Additional members elected in December 1961 as the result of a decision to enlarge the Commission by three seats.

COMMISSION ON NARCOTIC DRUGS

1961 Chairman: K. C. Hossick (Canada)

	Expiration date
Hungary	December 31, 1962
Iran	December 31, 1962
Malagasy Republic	December 31, 1962
Mexico	December 31, 1962
Morocco	December 31, 1962
Netherlands	December 31, 1962
United Arab Republic	December 31, 1962
China	December 31, 1963
India	December 31, 1963
Japan	December 31, 1963
Poland	December 31, 1963
Turkey	December 31, 1963
U.S.S.R.	December 31, 1963
United Kingdom	December 31, 1963
Brazil	December 31, 1964
Canada	December 31, 1964
France	December 31, 1964
Peru	December 31, 1964
Switzerland	December 31, 1964
United States	December 31, 1964
Yugoslavia	December 31, 1964

As of January 1, 1962, the membership of the Commission was increased from 15 to 21 in accordance with ECOSOC resolution 845 (XXXII). Elected at the resumed session of ECOSOC in December 1961 were: Brazil, Japan, Malagasy Republic, Morocco, Poland, and Switzerland. It was then determined by lot which of these members would serve for terms of 1, 2, or 3 years.

Of the members elected in 1949 for an indefinite term it was decided by lot that the terms of office of five countries (Canada, France, Peru, U.S., Yugoslavia), will end on December 31, 1964. Terms of office of the remaining five countries (China, India, Turkey, U.K., U.S.S.R.) will end on December 31, 1963.

The Commission held its 16th session at Geneva from April 24 to May 10, 1961.

POPULATION COMMISSION

1961 Chairman: J. Mertens de Wilmars, Belgium (reelected)

	Expiration date
El Salvador	December 31, 1961
Japan	December 31, 1961
U.S.S.R.	December 31, 1961
United Kingdom	December 31, 1961
United States	December 31, 1961
China	December 31, 1963
France	December 31, 1963
Ghana [1]	December 31, 1963
India	December 31, 1963
Italy	December 31, 1963
Ukrainian S.S.R.	December 31, 1963
Belgium	December 31, 1964
Ceylon	December 31, 1964
Greece [1]	December 31, 1964
Mexico	December 31, 1964
United Arab Republic	December 31, 1964
Uruguay	December 31, 1964

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1962, through December 31, 1965: [2]

El Salvador	Syria [1]	United Kingdom
Japan	U.S.S.R.	United States

The Commission held its 11th session at New York from February 7 to 17, 1961.

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[1] Additional members elected in December 1961 as the result of a decision to enlarge the Commission by three seats.

[2] Members of Commissions which meet biennially are elected for 4-year terms.

SOCIAL COMMISSION

1961 Chairman: C. Vianna Moog, Brazil

	Expiration date
Australia	December 31, 1961
France	December 31, 1961
Indonesia	December 31, 1961
Italy	December 31, 1961
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1961
United States	December 31, 1961
Ceylon [1]	December 31, 1962
Brazil	December 31, 1963
Byelorussian S.S.R. [1]	December 31, 1963
Finland	December 31, 1963
United Arab Republic	December 31, 1963
United Kingdom	December 31, 1963
Uruguay	December 31, 1963
Yugoslavia	December 31, 1963
Albania	December 31, 1964
Canada	December 31, 1964
China	December 31, 1964
Ecuador	December 31, 1964
Israel	December 31, 1964
Sudan	December 31, 1964
Tunisia [1]	December 31, 1964

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1962, through December 31, 1965: [2]

Austria	Iraq	U.S.S.R.
France	Malaya	United States

The Commission held its 13th session at New York from April 17 to May 5, 1961.

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[1] Additional members elected in December 1961 as the result of a decision to enlarge the Commission by three seats.

[2] The Economic and Social Council decided that henceforth the Social Commission, which formerly met biennially, should meet annually and that in the future members should be elected for 3-year terms.

STATISTICAL COMMISSION

1961 Chairman: M. D. McCarthy, Ireland

	Expiration date
China	December 31, 1961
Ireland	December 31, 1961
Netherlands	December 31, 1961
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1961
United States	December 31, 1961
Australia	December 31, 1963
Brazil	December 31, 1963
India	December 31, 1963
New Zealand	December 31, 1963
Sudan[1]	December 31, 1963
Ukrainian S.S.R.	December 31, 1963
Cuba	December 31, 1964
France	December 31, 1964
Norway	December 31, 1964
Rumania	December 31, 1964
United Kingdom	December 31, 1964
Uruguay[1]	December 31, 1964

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1962, through December 31, 1965:[2]

Canada	Ireland	U.S.S.R.
China	Japan[1]	United States

The Commission held its 11th session at New York from April 20 to May 5, 1960. It did not meet in 1961.

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[1] Additional members elected in December 1961 as the result of a decision to enlarge the Commission by three seats.

[2] Members of Commissions which meet biennially are elected for 4-year terms.

COMMISSION ON STATUS OF WOMEN

1961 Chairman: Mrs. Tamar Eshel, Israel

	Expiration date
Greece	December 31, 1961
Israel	December 31, 1961
Netherlands	December 31, 1961
U.S.S.R.	December 31, 1961
United Kingdom	December 31, 1961
United States	December 31, 1961
Colombia	December 31, 1962
Cuba	December 31, 1962
Finland	December 31, 1962
France	December 31, 1962
Mexico	December 31, 1962
Poland	December 31, 1962
Argentina	December 31, 1963
Australia	December 31, 1963
China	December 31, 1963
Czechoslovakia	December 31, 1963
Japan	December 31, 1963
Philippines	December 31, 1963

In addition, the following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1962, through December 31, 1964:

Indonesia	Spain	United Kingdom
Netherlands	U.S.S.R.	United States

The following countries were elected by ECOSOC in December 1961 to nominate members for the three additional seats on the Commission: Iran, to serve 1 year ending December 31, 1962; United Arab Republic, 2 years ending December 31, 1963; and Ghana, 3 years ending December 31, 1964.

The Commmission held its 15th session at Geneva, Switzerland, from March 13 to 30, 1961.

Regional Commissions

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA (ECA)

Headquarters: Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
1961 Chairman: Ato Menasse Lemma, Ethiopia

Belgium
Cameroon
Central African Republic
Chad
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Léopoldville)
Dahomey
Ethiopia
France
Gabon
Ghana
Guinea
Ivory Coast
Liberia
Libya
Malagasy Republic
Mali
Mauritania
Morocco
Niger
Nigeria
Portugal
Senegal
Somali Republic
South Africa, Republic of
Spain
Sudan
Togo
Tunisia
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
Upper Volta

Associate Members

Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland
Gambia
Kenya and Zanzibar
Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of
Ruanda-Urundi
Sierra Leone[1]
Tanganyika[1]
Uganda

The Commission held its third session at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from February 6 to 18, 1961.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE FAR EAST (ECAFE)

Headquarters: Bangkok, Thailand
1961 Chairman: N. Kanungo, India

Afghanistan
Australia
Burma
Cambodia
Ceylon
China
France
India
Indonesia
Iran
Japan
Korea, Republic of
Laos
Malaya
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Pakistan
Philippines
Thailand
U.S.S.R.
United Kingdom
United States
Viet-Nam, Republic of

Associate Members

Brunei
Hong Kong
Singapore
North Borneo and Sarawak

The Commission held its 17th session at New Delhi, India, from March 8 to 20, 1961.

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[1] Sierra Leone and Tanganyika both became full members of the United Nations in September and December 1961, respectively.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE (ECE)

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland
1961 Chairman: Gheorghe Radulesco, Rumania

Albania
Austria
Belgium
Bulgaria
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Finland
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Greece
Hungary
Iceland
Ireland
Italy
Luxembourg
Netherlands
Norway
Poland
Portugal
Rumania
Spain
Sweden
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.
United Kingdom
United States
Yugoslavia

Switzerland participates in a consultative capacity.

The Commission held its 16th session at Geneva from April 11 to 29, 1961.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA (ECLA)

Headquarters: Santiago, Chile
1961 Chairman: Julio Philippi, Chile

Argentina
Bolivia
Brazil
Chile
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
France
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Mexico
Netherlands
Nicaragua
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela

Associate Members

British Guiana
British Honduras or Belize
West Indies, The

The Commission held its 9th session in Santiago, May 4 to 15, 1961.

Governing Council of the Special Fund

1961 Chairman: T. Hagiwasa, Japan

	Expiration date
Argentina	December 31, 1961
France	December 31, 1961
India	December 31, 1961
Mexico	December 31, 1961
United Kingdom	December 31, 1961
United States	December 31, 1961
Canada	December 31, 1962
Japan	December 31, 1962
Pakistan	December 31, 1962
Thailand	December 31, 1962
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1962
Yugoslavia	December 31, 1962
Ghana	December 31, 1963
Guatemala	December 31, 1963
Italy	December 31, 1963
Netherlands	December 31, 1963
Senegal	December 31, 1963
Sweden	December 31, 1963

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council for the period January 1, 1962, through December 31, 1964.

Brazil	Indonesia	United Kingdom
France	Mexico	United States

The Governing Council held its 6th session at New York, May 23, 24, and 26, 1961, and June 1, 1961.

Other United Nations Activities

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

There were three sessions of the 30-member Executive Board in 1961. The meetings were held at New York January 12 and 13, 1961, June 8 to 19, 1961, and December 21, 1961. An additional meeting was held December 22, 1961, at New York to elect the officers for 1962.

The membership is as follows:

1961 Chairman: W. A. E. Green, New Zealand

	Expiration Date
Australia	December 31, 1961
Belgium	December 31, 1961
Bulgaria	December 31, 1961
Chile	December 31, 1961
Dominican Republic	December 31, 1961
Germany, Federal Republic of	December 31, 1961
Italy	December 31, 1961
New Zealand	December 31, 1961
Pakistan	December 31, 1961
Yugoslavia	December 31, 1961
Ecuador	December 31, 1962
Greece	December 31, 1962
Indonesia	December 31, 1962
Iran	December 31, 1962
Mexico	December 31, 1962
Sweden	December 31, 1962
Switzerland	December 31, 1962
Turkey	December 31, 1962
United Kingdom	December 31, 1962
Viet-Nam, Republic of	December 31, 1962
Afghanistan	December 31, 1963
Brazil	December 31, 1963
China	December 31, 1963
El Salvador	December 31, 1963
France	December 31, 1963
Japan	December 31, 1963
Poland	December 31, 1963
Tunisia	December 31, 1963
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1963
United States	December 31, 1963

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council for the period January 1, 1962, through December 31, 1964.

Bulgaria	India	Nigeria
Canada	Israel	Pakistan
Chile	Italy	Uruguay
Germany, Federal Republic of		

Expanded Program of Technical Assistance and Special Fund

Contributions Pledged and Received as of December 31, 1961

(Calendar year 1961)

Country	Expanded Technical Assistance Program		Special Fund	
	Amount pledged (US$ equiv.)	Amount received (US$ equiv.)	Amount pledged (US$ equiv.)	Amount received (US$ equiv.)
Afghanistan	$13, 500	$13, 500	$11, 000	$11, 000
Albania	2, 000	2, 000	2, 000	2, 000
Argentina	118, 837	. . . . .	96, 386	. . . . .
Australia	660, 000	660, 000	. . . . .	. . . . .
Austria	170, 000	86, 000	260, 000	129, 000
Bolivia	10, 000	. . . . .	10, 000	. . . . .
Brazil	687, 406	681, 643	208, 108	208, 108
Bulgaria	14, 706	14, 706	14, 706	14, 706
Burma	40, 000	40, 000	20, 000	20, 000
Byelorussian S. S. R	100, 000	100, 000	50, 000	50, 000
Cambodia	5, 714	5, 714	5, 000	5, 000
Canada	2, 150, 000	2, 150, 000	2, 350, 000	2, 350, 000
Central African Republic	2, 000	. . . . .	5, 000	. . . . .
Ceylon	25, 000	25, 000	10, 000	10, 000
Chile	200, 000	200, 000	104, 762	104, 762
China	20, 000	20, 000	20, 000	20, 000
Colombia	110, 000	110, 000	40, 000	14, 925
Costa Rica	10, 053	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Cuba	100, 000	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Cyprus	4, 200	4, 200	4, 200	4, 200
Czechoslovakia	69, 444	69, 444	69, 444	69, 444
Denmark	1, 158, 245	1, 158, 245	579, 123	579, 123
Ecuador	20, 000	1, 129	40, 000	. . . . .
El Salvador	7, 700	7, 700	2, 000	2, 000
Ethiopia	20, 000	. . . . .	29, 000	. . . . .
Finland	50, 000	50, 000	100, 000	100, 000
France	1, 852, 533	1, 852, 533	1, 072, 066	1, 072, 066
Gabon	2, 000	2, 000	2, 000	2, 000
Germany, Federal Republic of	2, 120, 000	2, 120, 000	3, 449, 750	3, 449, 750
Ghana	66, 158	50, 552	28, 000	28, 000
Greece	30, 000	30, 000	30, 000	30, 000
Guatemala	12, 000	12, 000	8, 000	. . . . .
Guinea	10, 000	2, 500	10, 000	2, 500
Haiti	16, 000	. . . . .	14, 000	. . . . .
Honduras	8, 000	. . . . .	5, 000	. . . . .
Hungary	53, 260	53, 260	42, 608	42, 608
Iceland	4, 011	4, 011	4, 011	4, 011
India	750, 000	750, 000	1, 750, 000	1, 750, 000
Indonesia	50, 000	50, 000	25, 000	25, 000
Iran	85, 000	85, 000	125, 000	. . . . .

Contributions Pledged and Received as of December 31, 1961—Con.

(Calender year 1961)

Country	Expanded Technical Assistance Program		Special Fund	
	Amount pledged (US$ equiv.)	Amount received (US$ equiv.)	Amount pledged (US$ equiv.)	Amount received (US$ equiv.)
Iraq	$56, 000	$56, 000	$34, 000	$34, 000
Ireland	14, 000	14, 000	25, 000	. . . . .
Israel	64, 000	48, 945	70, 000	38, 889
Italy	900, 000	. . . . .	1, 350, 000	. . . . .
Japan	400, 000	400, 000	1, 422, 483	1, 422, 483
Jordan	24, 000	24, 000	16, 000	16, 000
Korea	5, 000	5, 000	10, 000	10, 000
Kuwait	50, 000	50, 000	. . . . .	. . . . .
Laos	20, 000	20, 000	20, 000	20, 000
Lebanon	20, 317	20, 317	30, 476	30, 476
Liberia	25, 000	25, 000	15, 000	15, 000
Libya	25, 000	25, 000	25, 000	25, 000
Luxembourg	4, 000	4, 000	5, 000	5, 000
Malagasy Republic	4, 051	. . . . .	4, 051	. . . . .
Malaya	25, 000	25, 000	10, 000	10, 000
Mexico	121, 000	121, 000	34, 000	34, 000
Monaco	1, 519	1, 519	1, 519	1, 519
Morocco	15, 000	15, 000	30, 000	30, 000
Nepal	2, 000	2, 000	2, 000	. . . . .
Netherlands	1, 565, 083	1, 565, 083	2, 561, 436	2, 561, 436
New Zealand	280, 000	280, 000	140, 000	140, 000
Nicaragua	2, 571	2, 571	3, 857	3, 857
Nigeria	70, 008	. . . . .	140, 017	. . . . .
Norway	604, 788	604, 788	597, 088	597, 088
Pakistan	170, 000	170, 000	129, 998	. . . . .
Panama	4, 000	. . . . .	1, 000	. . . . .
Peru	40, 000	40, 000	70, 000	70, 000
Philippines	66, 000	33, 000	66, 000	33, 000
Poland	100, 000	100, 000	125, 000	125, 000
Portugal	30, 000	. . . . .	10, 000	. . . . .
Rumania	16, 667	16, 667	16, 667	16, 667
Saudi Arabia	25, 000	25, 000	25, 000	25, 000
Senegal	16, 000	16, 000	24, 000	24, 000
South Africa	10, 000	10, 000	. . . . .	. . . . .
Spain	50, 000	50, 000	50, 000	50, 000
Sudan	90, 000	90, 000	45, 000	45, 000
Sweden	1, 005, 219	1, 005, 219	2, 103, 228	2, 103, 228
Switzerland	465, 116	465, 116	465, 116	465, 116
Thailand	38, 095	38, 095	160, 000	160, 000
Tunisia	17, 000	. . . . .	13, 000	13, 000
Turkey	266, 667	266, 667	322, 222	322, 222
Ukrainian S.S.R	250, 000	250, 000	125, 000	125, 000
U.S.S.R	2, 000, 000	2, 000, 000	1, 000, 000	1, 000, 000
United Arab Republic	143, 596	143, 596	287, 191	287, 191
United Kingdom	3, 000, 000	3, 000, 000	5, 000, 000	5, 000, 000

Contributions Pledged and Received as of December 31, 1961—Con.

(Calender year 1961)

Country	Expanded Technical Assistance Program		Special Fund	
	Amount pledged (US$ equiv.)	Amount received (US$ equiv.)	Amount pledged (US$ equiv.)	Amount received (US$ equiv.)
United States	$17, 605, 033	$11, 497, 757	$19, 524, 805	$15, 047, 650
Uruguay	100, 000	. . . . .	20, 000	. . . . .
Venezuela	550, 000	175, 000	100, 000	100, 000
Vatican City	1, 000	1, 000	1, 000	1, 000
Viet-Nam	25, 714	25, 714	16, 686	16, 686
Yugoslavia	138, 000	138, 000	192, 000	192, 000
Subtotal	41, 349, 211	33, 277, 191	47, 036, 004	40, 316, 711
Local Cost Assessment	2, 663, 371	1, 959, 324	1, 776, 008	1, 776, 008
Total	44, 012, 582	35, 236, 515	48 812, 012	42, 092, 719

High Commissioner for Refugees

High Commissioner for Refugees: Felix Schnyder, Switzerland

1961 Chairman: K. Salvensen, Norway

General Assembly Resolution 1166 (XII) authorized, and Economic and Social Council Resolution 672 (XXV) established, an Executive Committee of the Program of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to take the place of the former Executive Committee of the United Nations Refugee Fund (UNREF), which ceased to exist December 31, 1958. The Executive Committee held two regular meetings at Geneva from May 25 to 31, 1961, and from November 6 to 10, 1961.

The Economic and Social Council elected the following countries to be members of the Executive Committee:

Australia
Austria
Belgium
Brazil
Canada
China
Colombia
Denmark
Germany, Federal Republic of
France
Greece
Holy See
Iran
Israel
Italy
Netherlands
Norway
Sweden
Switzerland
Tunisia
Turkey
United Kingdom
United States
Venezuela
Yugoslavia

Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA)

Contributions to UNRWA in Cash and Kind by Governments, and Private and International Agencies

(As of December 31, 1961)

Country	*1/1/61–12/31/61*
A. Contributions from governments direct to UNRWA:	
Australia	$201,600
Austria	2,000
Belgium	30,000
Cambodia	1,142
Canada	2,069,500
Cyprus	560
Denmark	43,440
France	182,209
Gaza	124,721
Germany, Federal Republic of	250,000
Ghana	3,000
Greece	15,000
Holy See	10,965
Iran	6,000
Ireland	14,062
Italy	120,518
Japan	10,000
Jordan	98,280
Korea	1,500
Kuwait	131,250
Lebanon	40,125
Liberia	5,000
Luxembourg	$2,000
Monaco	1,224
Morocco	36,750
Netherlands	69,061
New Zealand	140,000
Norway	42,000
Pakistan	20,953
Saudi Arabia	200,000
Sweden	57,915
Syria	83,966
Turkey	5,000
United Arab Republic	418,397
United Kingdom	5,400,000
United States*	24,583,862
Viet-Nam, Republic of	2,500
Yugoslavia	40,000
World Refugee Stamp Plan	236,055
Subtotal	34,700,555
B. Contributions from private and international agencies direct to UNRWA	1,205,329
Total	35,905,884

*U.S. contribution for Fiscal Year 1961 was $23.5 million. For Fiscal Year 1962 the U.S. pledge is $24.7 million.

637455—62——26

APPENDIX III

The Specialized Agencies

Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)[1]

Headquarters: Rome, Italy
Director General: B. R. Sen, India

Afghanistan
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Burma
Cambodia
Cameroon
Canada
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chad
Chile
Colombia
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Léopoldville)
Costa Rica
Cuba
Cyprus
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Gabon
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Japan
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Kuwait
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malaya
Mali
Mauritania
Mexico
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Rumania
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Somali Republic
South Africa, Republic of
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland
Syrian Arab Republic
Thailand
Togo
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukraine
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yemen
Yugoslavia

Associate Members

British Guiana
Jamaica
Mauritius
Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of
Tanganyika

[1] Membership as of Dec. 31, 1961.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)[1]

Headquarters: Washington, D.C.

President: Eugene R. Black, United States

Vice President: W. A. B. Iliff, United Kingdom

Vice President: J. Burke Knapp, United States

Afghanistan
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Burma
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cyprus
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Laos
Lebanon
Libya
Luxembourg
Malaya
Mexico
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Portugal
Saudi Arabia
South Africa, Republic of
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Syrian Arab Republic
Thailand
Tunisia
Turkey
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yugoslavia

[1] Membership as of Dec. 31, 1961. A state is required to belong to the International Monetary Fund before it may join the IBRD.

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)[1]

Headquarters: Montreal, Canada

Secretary General: Ronald Macalister Macdonnell, Canada

Afghanistan
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Burma
Cambodia
Cameroon
Canada
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Congo (Léopoldville)
Costa Rica
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Japan
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Kuwait
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Malaya
Mali
Mexico
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Senegal
Sierra Leone
South Africa, Republic of
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland
Syrian Arab Republic
Thailand
Tunisia
Turkey
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yugoslavia

[1] Membership as of Dec. 31, 1961.

International Development Association (IDA)

Headquarters: Washington, D.C.
President: Eugene R. Black, United States[1]

Afghanistan
Australia
Austria
Bolivia
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Costa Rica
Denmark
Ecuador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Libya
Malaya
Mexico
Morocco
Netherlands
Nicaragua
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Saudi Arabia
South Africa, Republic of
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Thailand
Tunisia
Turkey
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yugoslavia

[1] Under the IDA articles Eugene R. Black, as President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), is *ex officio* President of IDA. Officers and staff of the Bank have been appointed to serve concurrently as officers and staff of IDA, without additional compensation.

International Finance Corporation (IFC)[1]

Headquarters: Washington, D.C.
President: Eugene R. Black, United States

Afghanistan
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Burma
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
Colombia
Costa Rica
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Lebanon
Libya
Luxembourg
Malaya
Mexico
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
South Africa, Republic of
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Thailand
Turkey
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Venezuela

[1] Membership as of Dec. 31, 1961.

International Labor Organization (ILO)[1]

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

Director General: David A. Morse, United States

Afghanistan
Albania
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cameroon
Canada
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chad
Chile
China
Colombia
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Léopoldville)
Costa Rica
Cuba
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Gabon
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Japan
Jordan
Kuwait
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malaya
Mali
Mauritania
Mexico
Morocco
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Rumania
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Somali Republic
South Africa, Republic of
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland
Syrian Arab Republic
Thailand
Togo
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yugoslavia

[1] Membership as of Dec. 31, 1961.

Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO)[1]

Headquarters: London, England

Secretary General: Ove Nielsen, Denmark[2]

Argentina
Australia
Belgium
Bulgaria
Burma
Cambodia
Cameroon
Canada
China, Republic of
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Finland
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Japan
Kuwait
Liberia
Malagasy Republic
Mauritania
Mexico
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Poland
Senegal
Sweden
Switzerland
Turkey
U.S.S.R.
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Yugoslavia

Associate Members

Sarawak and North Borneo (Joint Membership)

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[1] Membership as of Dec. 31, 1961.

[2] Died Nov. 20, 1961.

International Monetary Fund (IMF)[1]

Headquarters: Washington, D.C.

Managing Director and Chairman of the Board of Executive Directors: Per Jacobsson, Sweden

Deputy Managing Director: H. Merle Cochran, United States

Afghanistan
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Burma
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Cyprus
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Laos
Lebanon
Libya
Luxembourg
Malaya
Mexico
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Portugal
Saudi Arabia
South Africa, Republic of
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Syrian Arab Republic
Thailand
Tunisia
Turkey
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yugoslavia

[1] Membership as of Dec. 31, 1961.

International Telecommunication Union (ITU)[1]

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland
Secretary General: Gerald C. Gross, United States

Afghanistan
Albania
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Cameroon
Canada
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chad
Chile
China
Colombia
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Léopoldville)
Costa Rica
Cuba
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
French Community and French Overseas Territories
Gabon
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Japan
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Kuwait
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malaya
Mali
Mexico
Monaco
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Portuguese Overseas Provinces
Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of
Rumania
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
Sierra Leone
South Africa, Republic of and Territory of South-West Africa
Spain
Spanish Provinces in Africa
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland
Thailand
Togo
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
Overseas Territories for which the United Kingdom is responsible
United States
Territories of the U.S.
Uruguay
Vatican City
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yemen
Yugoslavia

Associate Members

Bermuda—British Caribbean Group
British East Africa
Ruanda-Urundi
Singapore-British Borneo Group

[1] Membership as of Dec. 31, 1961.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)[1]

Headquarters: Paris, France

Acting Director General: René Maheu, France

Afghanistan
Albania
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Cameroon
Canada
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chad
Chile
China
Colombia
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Léopoldville)
Costa Rica
Cuba
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Gabon
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Japan
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Kuwait
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malaya
Mali
Mexico
Monaco
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Rumania
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
Somali Republic
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland
Syrian Arab Republic
Thailand
Togo
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yugoslavia

Associate Members

The Federation of the West Indies
Mauritius
Ruanda-Urundi
Sierra Leone
State of Singapore
Tanganyika

[1] Membership as of Dec. 31, 1961.

Universal Postal Union (UPU)[1]

Headquarters: Bern, Switzerland

Secretary General: Edward Weber, Switzerland

Afghanistan
Albania
Algeria
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Cameroon
Canada
Chad
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Léopoldville)
Costa Rica
Cuba
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
French overseas territories
Gabon
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Japan
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Kuwait
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malaya
Mali
Mexico
Monaco
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
Netherlands Antilles and Surinam
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Portuguese Provinces of East Africa, Asia, Oceania, and West Africa
Ruanda-Urundi
Rumania
San Marino
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
Somali Republic
South Africa, Republic of
Spain
Spanish Territories of Africa
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland
Syrian Arab Republic
Thailand
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United Kingdom colonies, protectorates, and overseas territories and territories under trusteeship
United States
United States overseas territories, including the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands
Uruguay
Vatican City
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yemen
Yugoslavia

[1] Membership as of Dec. 31, 1961.

World Health Organization (WHO)[1]

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland
Director General: Marcolino G. Candau, Brazil

Afghanistan
Albania
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.[2]
Cambodia
Cameroon
Canada
Central African Republic
Ceylon
Chad
Chile
China
Colombia
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Léopoldville)
Costa Rica
Cuba
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Gabon
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary[2]
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Japan
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Kuwait
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malaya
Mali
Mauritania
Mexico
Monaco
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Rumania
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Somalia
South Africa, Republic of
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland
Syrian Arab Republic
Thailand
Togo
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.[2]
U.S.S.R.
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yemen
Yugoslavia

Associate Members

Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of
Ruanda-Urundi
Tanganyika

[1] Membership as of Dec. 31, 1961.
[2] States no longer considering themselves members.

World Meteorological Organization (WMO)[1]

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland
Secretary General: D. A. Davies, United Kingdom

Afghanistan
Albania
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
British East African Territories including the Seychelles
Bulgaria
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Cameroon
Canada
Central African Rep.
Ceylon
Chad
Chile
China
Congo (Brazzaville)
Congo (Léopoldville)
Costa Rica
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Dahomey
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
French Oceanic Colonies
French Somaliland
Gabon
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea
Haiti
Honduras
Hong Kong
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Ivory Coast
Japan
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Laos
Lebanon
Libya
Luxembourg
Malagasy Republic
Malaya
Mali
Mauritius
Mexico
Morocco
Netherlands
Netherlands Antilles
Netherlands New Guinea
New Caledonia
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Niger
Nigeria
Norway
Pakistan
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique)
Portuguese West Africa (Angola)
Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of
Ruanda-Urundi
Rumania
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
Singapore and the British Territories in Borneo
South Africa, Republic of
Spain
Spanish Guinea
Sudan
Surinam
Sweden
Switzerland
Syrian Arab Republic
Thailand
Togo
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Upper Volta
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
The West Indies and other British Caribbean Territories
Yugoslavia

[1] Membership as of Dec. 31, 1961.

APPENDIX IV

Other International Organizations

International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)[1]

Headquarters: Vienna, Austria
Director General: A. Sigvard Eklund, Sweden

Afghanistan
Albania
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Congo (Léopoldville)
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Holy See
Honduras
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Israel
Italy
Japan
Korea, Republic of
Lebanon
Luxembourg
Mali
Mexico
Monaco
Morocco
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Norway
Pakistan
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Rumania
Senegal
South Africa, Republic of
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland
Thailand
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.
United Arab Republic
United Kingdom
United States
Venezuela
Viet-Nam, Republic of
Yugoslavia

[1] Membership as of Dec. 31, 1961.

Caribbean Commission [1]

Headquarters: Hato Rey, San Juan, Puerto Rico

Secretary General: Clovis F. Beauregard, France (Martinique)

France
Netherlands
United Kingdom
United States

South Pacific Commission

Headquarters: Nouméa, New Caledonia

Secretary General: Thomas R. Smith, New Zealand

Australia
France
Netherlands
New Zealand
United Kingdom
United States

Caribbean Organization [1]

Headquarters: Hato Rey, San Juan, Puerto Rico

Secretary General: Clovis F. Beauregard, France (Martinique)

British Guiana
Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
France for the Department of: French Guiana, Guadeloupe, and Martinique
Netherlands Antilles
Surinam
Virgin Islands (U.S.)
The West Indies

[1] The Caribbean Commission was succeeded by the Caribbean Organization, Sept. 6, 1961.

APPENDIX V

United States Representation

United States Missions

U.S. Mission at U.N. Headquarters in New York

The United States is represented by a permanent mission at the headquarters of the United Nations in New York. Under the direction of the Representative of the United States to the United Nations, the mission carries out the instructions of the President, as transmitted by the Secretary of State, in U.N. bodies at the headquarters of the United Nations. It also serves as the channel of communication between the U.S. Government and the U.N. organs, agencies, and commissions at the headquarters and the delegations of other nations to the United Nations located in New York. It is a base of operations for the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly and to other U.N. organs and agencies when they meet in New York.

The structure, organization, and functions of the U.S. mission to the United Nations have been determined in the main by the following factors:

1. The requirements of the U.N. Charter and the resolutions of the organs of the United Nations, the General Assembly in particular.
2. The provisions of the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Cong.) as amended by Public Law 341 of the Eighty-first Congress.
3. Executive Order 10108.
4. Location of the headquarters of the United Nations in the United States and the consequent need for the United States to assume the responsibilities of "host government."
5. The fact that the United States in consequence of its leadership role in the United Nations, is represented on all organs and virtually all commissions and committees of the United Nations.

The chief of the mission is the U.S. Representative to the United Nations and is assisted by two deputies of ambassadorial rank. Other principal officers of the mission are the U.S. representatives on the

Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council, and the Counselor of Mission.

The main source of policy guidance and strategical direction for the conduct of U.S. participation in the United Nations is necessarily the Department of State. The mission, however, has a staff consisting of a number of advisers, substantive officers, public affairs specialists, and an administrative conference section under a Chief Administrative Officer. This staff assists the U.S. Representative in (1) planning the tactical pursuit of U.S. policy objectives in the light of the political and parliamentary situations in U.N. organs and bodies; (2) consultation, negotiation, and liaison with other delegations and the U.N. Secretariat; (3) the discharge of the responsibilities of the United States as "host government," in particular those arising from the Headquarters Agreement between the United States and the United Nations (Public Law 357, 80th Cong.) and the International Organizations Immunities Act (Public Law 391, 79th Cong.), which deal *inter alia* with relations of the United Nations, its officials, and delegation members with Federal, State, and local authorities; and (4) administering of all public affairs activities concerning U.S. participation in the United Nations at New York. The administrative and conference services assist the U.S. Representative by (1) planning for and administering conference operations; (2) the provision of necessary research, reference, reporting, and communications services; and (3) the administration and management of the U.S. mission.

U.S. Mission at U.N. European Office in Geneva

The United States is represented at the European Office of the United Nations by a permanent mission at Geneva, Switzerland. Under the direction of the U.S. Representative to the European Office of the United Nations and other international organizations, the mission is responsible for relations with and for observing and reporting on activities in the political and economic field of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies located in Geneva. These include the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO). In addition, the mission is responsible for relations with and reporting on the activities of other international organizations located in Geneva and for necessary liaison with the missions of other countries accredited to international organizations located in Geneva.

The chief of the mission reports directly to the Secretary of State and the Department of State. Instructions to the mission are sent by the Department of State. The mission works in close coordination with the U.S. Embassies, the U.S. Mission to the European Communities (USEC), and the U.S. Mission to Regional Organizations (USRO).

Other United States Missions

In addition to the U.S. missions at the U.N. Headquarters, New York, and the European Office of the United Nations at Geneva, the United States during 1961 maintained several special missions in order to participate effectively in the work of certain U.N. bodies located elsewhere.

A special U.S. mission, the Office of the U.S. Representative to the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), was maintained in Montreal, Canada, and a U.S. mission to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was maintained at Vienna, Austria, the Agency's headquarters.

United States Representatives to the United Nations

United States Representative and Chief of United States Mission to the United Nations:
Adlai E. Stevenson

Deputy United States Representatives:
Francis T. P. Plimpton
Charles W. Yost

The General Assembly

SIXTEENTH REGULAR SESSION, NEW YORK, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 19, 1960—RECESSED DECEMBER 21, 1961

Representatives:
Dean Rusk [1]
Adlai E. Stevenson
Omar Burleson

[1] When in attendance the Secretary served as Senior Representative *ex officio*. At other times Ambassador Stevenson served as Senior Representative.

Representatives—Continued
Marguerite Stitt Church
Francis T. P. Plimpton
Arthur H. Dean

Alternate Representatives:
Charles W. Yost
Clifton R. Wharton
Philip M. Klutznick
Jonathan Brewster Bingham
Gladys Avery Tillett (Mrs. Charles Tillett)

SPECIAL COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Interim Committee of the General Assembly

Representative:
Francis T. P. Plimpton

Alternate Representative:
Charles Phelps Noyes

Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories

Representative:
Jonathan B. Bingham

Alternate Representative:
John C. Pool

United Nations Collective Measures Committee

Representative:
Adlai E. Stevenson

United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine

Representative:
Francis T. P. Plimpton

United Nations Peace Observation Commission

Representative:
Adlai E. Stevenson

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (Beirut, Lebanon)

Representative, Advisory Commission:
Harry N. Howard

DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

No membership in 1961

The Security Council

Representatives:
Adlai E. Stevenson
Charles W. Yost

Deputy Representatives:
Charles W. Yost
Francis T. P. Plimpton

MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE

Representatives:
Navy: Vice Adm. Charles Wellborn, Jr., USN
Army: Lt. Gen. E. J. O'Neill, USA
Air Force: Lt. Gen. William E. Hall, USAF (retired July 31, 1961)
Lt. Gen. Robert W. Burns, USAF

Deputy Representatives:
Navy: Capt. R. A. Theobald, Jr., USN (until June 29, 1961)
Capt. William J. Dimitryeric (beginning June 30, 1961)
Army: Col. Paul V. Fahey, USA
Air Force: Col. James W. Chapman, USAF

Secretariat:
Col. Paul V. Fahey, USA

The Trusteeship Council

Representative:
Jonathan B. Bingham

Deputy Representative:
Benjamin Gerig (resigned Oct. 1961)

The Economic and Social Council

Representative:
Philip M. Klutznick

Deputy Representative:
Walter Kotschnig

FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS

Commodity Trade: Thomas C. Mann
Human Rights: Mrs. Marietta P. Tree
Narcotic Drugs: Harry J. Anslinger (A. Gilmore Flues, Acting U.S. Representative, 16th session, Geneva, April–May 1961)
Population: Dr. Ansley Coale
Social: Mrs. Jane Warner Dick
Statistical: Raymond T. Bowman
Status of Women: Mrs. Gladys Avery Tillett

REGIONAL COMMISSIONS

Asia and the Far East, Economic Commission for:

17th session (New Delhi, India, Mar. 8–20, 1961)
U.S. Representative: Avery F. Peterson

Africa, Economic Commission for:

3d session (Addis Ababa, Feb. 6–17, 1961)
U.S. Observer: Walter Kotschnig

Europe, Economic Commission for:

16th session (Geneva, Apr. 11–29, 1961)
U.S. Representative: Graham A. Martin

Latin America, Economic Commission for:

8th meeting of Committee of the Whole of ECLA (Santiago, Chile, Feb. 14–16, 1961)
U.S. Representative: Charles W. Cole

UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND

U.S. Representative, Executive Board
Mr. Frederick Delli Quadri

United States Representatives to the Specialized Agencies

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

U.S. Member, FAO Council
Robert C. Tetro (35th session, Rome, June 19, 1961)
(36th session, Rome, Oct. 30, 1961)
(37th session, Rome, Nov. 24, 1961)

Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization

U.S. Delegate to the Council of IMCO
Ralph E. Wilson (4th session, London, Jan. 16–20, 1961)

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors
C. Douglas Dillon
Alternate U.S. Governor
George W. Ball

U.S. Executive Director
John M. Leddy
Alternate U.S. Executive Director
Erle Cocke, Jr.

International Civil Aviation Organization

U.S. Representative on the Council of ICAO
Nelson B. David
Alternate U.S. Representative on the Council of ICAO and Representative on the Air Navigation Commission
Edmond V. Shores

International Finance Corporation

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors
C. Douglas Dillon
Alternate U.S. Governor
George W. Ball
U.S. Executive Director
John M. Leddy
Alternate U.S. Executive Director
Erle Cocke, Jr.

International Labor Organization

Representative of the Government of the United States to the Governing Body of the International Labor Office
George C. Lodge (until June 1, 1961)
George Weaver (after June 2, 1961)

International Monetary Fund

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors
C. Douglas Dillon
Alternate U.S. Governor
George W. Ball
U.S. Executive Director
Frank A. Southard, Jr.
Alternate U.S. Executive Director
John S. Hooker

International Telecommunication Union

U.S. Representative, Administrative Council
Francis Colt DeWolf

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

U.S. Representative, Executive Board
George N. Shuster

Universal Postal Union

(No Congress held in 1961)

World Health Organization

U.S. Member, Executive Board
Dr. H. van Zile Hyde

World Meteorological Organization

U.S. Member, Executive Committee
Francis W. Reichelderfer

United States Representatives to Other International Organizations

International Atomic Energy Agency

U.S. Representative
Vice Admiral Paul F. Foster, USNR (retired) (resigned Apr. 10, 1961)
Henry De Wolf Smyth (appointed June 15, 1961)
Deputy U.S. Representative
William I. Cargo (appointed June 15, 1961)

Caribbean Commission[1]

Thirty-first Meeting, San Juan, Puerto Rico, September 5–6, 1961

U.S. Cochairman: John W. Hanes, Jr.
U.S. Commissioner: Jose Trias Monge
U.S. Commissioner: David E. Maas
U.S. Commissioner: Dr. Arturo Morales-Carrion

South Pacific Commission

Twenty-second Session, Nouméa, New Caledonia, October 12–24,1961

Senior Commissioner: Dean Knowles A Ryerson
Commissioner: Carlton Skinner
Alternate Commissioner: Arthur S. Osborne, M.D.

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[1] The Caribbean Organization succeeded the Caribbean Commission on Sept. 6, 1961. The first meeting of the Council of the Organization met at San Juan, Sept. 6–15, 1961. The United States is not a member but has observer status.

APPENDIX VI

Publications and Documentation

United Nations publications include (1) the *Official Records* of the United Nations comprising the proceedings of the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, Disarmament Commission, and the early U.N. Atomic Energy Commission; important reports and documents submitted to these bodies, and resolutions passed by them; (2) special studies prepared by the U.N. Secretariat describing the work of the Organization or providing data of concern to the United Nations; for example, reports on world economy, human rights, or trust territories; (3) periodicals covering most phases of United Nations work; (4) the *Treaty Series* listing all registered international treaties and signatories thereto.

United Nations publications and audiovisual materials may be purchased from the Sales Section, United Nations, New York, N.Y. Selected material may be obtained from the subagents for the sale of U.N. publications listed in the following pages. The annual sales catalog, entitled *United Nations Publications*, is available through most subagents.

Distinct from U.N. publications is material put out by each of the Specialized Agencies. A list of agents for the sale of publications of the Specialized Agencies follows this explanatory note. Current Specialized Agency and U.N. publications and documents are described in the monthly *Index to United Nations Documents.*

The mimeographed documents of the various organs of the United Nations may be purchased at annual rates from the United Nations Sales Section, United Nations, New York, N.Y.

Reference collections of U.N. publications and documents and the publications of selected Specialized Agencies may be found at the Depository Libraries listed on the following pages. Material is also available at many other school and public libraries and in the libraries of private foundations and government agencies concerned with international affairs.

An excellent point of departure for research projects on U.N. activities is the *Yearbook of the United Nations*, an annual publication which summarizes the work of the organization and its related

agencies in all major fields and provides a guide to fuller documentation. The U.N. publication entitled *Everyman's United Nations* (Sixth Edition, October 1959) is a concise handbook of the functions and activities of the United Nations and its related agencies during the period 1945 to the end of 1958.

Material on United States policy toward issues before the United Nations may be found in the *Department of State Bulletin*, a weekly publication available in many school and public libraries, which prints the texts of major U.S. statements before the United Nations, selected documents, and interpretive articles on U.N. affairs. Foreign policy highlights are published biweekly in a State Department periodical entitled *Foreign Policy Briefs.*

In addition to this report (the 16th in the series), the Department of State has published annually a detailed record entitled *Participation of the U.S. Government in International Conferences.* This reference volume contains names of U.S. delegates, a list of other countries represented, and a brief summary of actions for over 200 of the more significant international meetings and conferences held each year including many of those of the United Nations bodies. With the publication of the July 1, 1959–July 30, 1960, volume (Department of State publication 7043), this publication has been discontinued.

The Department now covers U.S. participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency (previously dealt with in this publication) in an annual report, the second and latest being *U.S. Participation in the International Atomic Energy Agency:* Report by the President to Congress for the year 1960 (Department of State publication 7214.)

Another very useful document which is submitted to the House of Representatives by the Secretary of State and released as a House document is *U.S. Contributions to International Organizations.* (The latest in this series is the 10th report, 87th Congress, 2d session, House Document No. 460.)

From time to time the Department also issues publications and pamphlets dealing with international organization matters of interest to the United States. The State Department publications list is available upon request to the Office of Public Services, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

The *Department of State Bulletin* (25¢ a copy, $8.50 a year), *Foreign Policy Briefs* ($1 a year) and all other State Department publications carrying a price line may be purchased from the U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Remittances payable to the Superintendent of Documents should accompany orders.

SALE OF PUBLICATIONS AND VISUAL MATERIALS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

Publications and visual materials of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization may be purchased from the Sales Section, United Nations, New York, N.Y.

Publications of other Specialized Agencies may be purchased from:

(ICAO)	Secretary-General International Civil Aviation Organization International Aviation Building 1080 University Street Montreal, Canada
(IBRD)	The Johns Hopkins Press Baltimore 18, Md.
(ILO)	Mr. R. Peter Straus 917–15th Street NW. Washington 5, D.C.
(IMF)	The Secretary International Monetary Fund 1818 H Street NW. Washington 25, D.C.
(ITU)	The General Secretariat International Telecommunication Union Palais Wilson Geneva, Switzerland
(UNESCO)	UNESCO Publications Centre 152 W. 42d Street New York 36, N.Y.
(UPU)	The International Bureau Universal Postal Union Schosshaldenstrasse 46 Berne 15, Switzerland
(WMO)	World Meteorological Organization Campagne Rigot 1, Avenue de la Paix Geneva, Switzerland

SUBAGENTS IN THE UNITED STATES FOR SALE OF UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS AND VISUAL MATERIALS

California

U.N. Association of Los Angeles
5110 Wilshire Boulevard
Los Angeles 36

World Affairs Council of Northern California
421 Powell Street
San Francisco 2

Los Angeles World Affairs Council
Mobil Oil Bldg.
612 S. Flower St.
Los Angeles 17

Connecticut

World Affairs Center
20 E. State St.
Westport

Illinois

American Association for the United Nations
59 E. Madison
Chicago 4

Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
Pamphlet Center, 116 S. Michigan Avenue
Chicago 3

Maryland

UN Association of Maryland
1 W. Mt. Vernon Place
Baltimore 1

Massachusetts

World Affairs Council
10 Arlington Street
Boston

UN Information Center
World Affairs Council
105 Newbury St.
Boston 16

Minnesota

Minnesota UN Association
1124 Metropolitan Bldg.
Minneapolis

Missouri

St. Louis on World Affairs Council
418 Olive St.
St. Louis 2

New Hampshire

New Hampshire Council on World Affairs
Commons Building
Durham

New York

World Affairs Center
Book, Pamphlet and Documents Department
47th Street and U.N. Plaza
New York

US Committee for one UN
375 Park Ave.
New York 22

American Association for the United Nations
345 E. 46th St.
New York

Ohio

Cincinnati Council on World Affairs
Suite 1028
Dixie Terminal Bldg.
Cincinnati 2

Council on World Affairs
922 Society for Savings Building
Cleveland 14

World Affairs Council of Toledo
331 Security Bldg.
Toledo 4

Pennsylvania

World Affairs Council of Philadelphia
The John Wanamaker Store
13th and Market Streets
Philadelphia 7

UN Association of Pittsburgh
131 N. Bellefield Ave.
Pittsburgh 13

Texas

Dallas Council on World Affairs
2419 Maple Avenue
Dallas 4

DEPOSITORY LIBRARIES IN THE UNITED STATES DESIGNATED BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

	UN	ICJ	FAO	ICAO	UNESCO	WHO
California						
University of California General Library Berkeley	x				x	
Los Angeles Public Library Los Angeles	x					
University of California at Los Angeles Los Angeles	x		x		x	
Stanford University Stanford University	x					
Colorado						
Denver Public Library Denver	x					
Connecticut						
Yale University New Haven	x		x			
District of Columbia						
Brookings Institution	x					
Pan American Union	x				x	
Library of Congress	x	x	x	x	x	x
Illinois						
Library of International Relations Chicago	x	x	x			
University of Chicago Chicago	x				x	
Northwestern University Evanston	x			x		
Public Library Rockford			x			
University of Illinois Urbana	x					
Louisiana						
Louisiana State University Baton Rouge	x	x	x		x	
Maryland						
Johns Hopkins University Baltimore	x		x			
Massachusetts						
World Peace Foundation Boston	x	x				
Harvard University Cambridge	x		x	x	x	
Michigan						
University of Michigan Ann Arbor	x		x			

DEPOSITORY LIBRARIES IN THE UNITED STATES DESIGNATED BY THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES—Continued

	UN	ICJ	FAO	ICAO	UNESCO	WHO
Minnesota						
University of Minnesota Minneapolis	x		x			
Missouri						
St. Louis Public Library St. Louis	x				x	
New Jersey						
Princeton University Princeton	x		x			
New York						
Cornell University Ithaca	x					
Columbia University Law Library New York	x					
Council on Foreign Relations, Inc. New York	x	x				
Institute of Aeronautical Sciences New York				x		
New York Public Library New York	x	x	x	x	x	
New York University New York	x		x			
North Carolina						
University of North Carolina Chapel Hill	x				x	
Ohio						
Cleveland Public Library Cleveland	x				x	
Pennsylvania						
University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia	x					
Rhode Island						
Brown University Providence	x					
Tennessee						
Joint University Libraries Nashville	x		x			
Texas						
University of Texas Austin	x		x		x	
Washington						
University of Washington Seattle	x					

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